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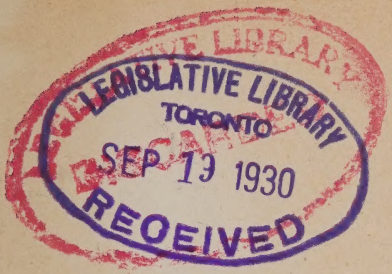
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The Story of Bologna

TO THE TRAVELLER IN A FOREIGN LAND

Give him my love, and tell him it is the mark of the parochial gentleman who has never travelled to find all wrong in a foreign land. Let him hold on, and he will find one country as good as another; and in the meanwhile let him resist the fatal British tendency to communicate his dissatisfaction with a country to its inhabitants. 'Tis a good idea, but it somehow fails to please.

R. L. STEVENSON'S *Letters*.

PORTRAIT OF HIS MOTHER BY GUIDO RENI (PINACOTECA)

87005

The Story of Bologna

by Alethea Wiel with Illustrations in Line by Margarite Janes

ONTARIO

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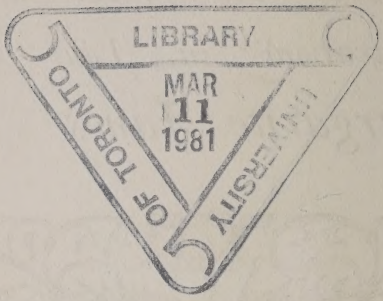

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TO MY BROTHER

ALGERNON GEORGE, Vth BARON WENLOCK

IN MEMORY OF

HAPPY TIMES IN ITALY

PREFACE

"MAKE the stones of Bologna speak to you—they will speak if only you know how to question them, and how to listen properly to their answer." These words were spoken by Cavaliere Francesco Cantoni, "Vice-Bibliotecario" of the Archiginnasio, or Biblioteca Comunale, when telling me how to set about my studies for the History of Bologna, and advising me how best to know and understand the town. I have striven hard to follow that advice, and shall ever be grateful for it. The words in themselves show the love the speaker felt for his native town, and how he longed to share that love with anyone who in their turn could understand and appreciate the "dark, turreted city."[1] And Bologna demands a special study, for though she may not claim the romance and glamour peculiar to so many Italian towns, she possesses a dignity and solemnity that set her in a category apart, and that evoke special sensations when wandering under her endless colonnades, or peering down the long vistas of perspective that each portico reveals in turn.

Bologna has been called "sombre" and "gloomy," but both these terms are absolutely untrue and misleading. The long dominion of the Papacy may perhaps partly account for such aspersions, inasmuch as an ecclesiastical rule is sometimes associated with a strict as opposed to a frivolous side of life. Bologna was essentially a Guelph or

[1] "La fosca turrita Bologna."

Papal town, for after the first centuries of her existence (when the Popes, her own magistrates and potentates, and the Duke of Milan alternately swayed her fortunes) she recognised the Papacy as her head, and remained under that form of government from 1506—when it was set up by Julius II.—till the time of the French invasion at the close of the eighteenth century.

Another factor that might have made for gravity and decorum in Bologna was the presence of the University in her midst, for such weighty matters as law and learning are usually associated—whether rightly or wrongly who shall say?—with the soberer side of life, and with a demure and dignified bearing. But though Bologna can boast of much dignity, there is neither demureness nor melancholy in her nature; her inhabitants are a joyous and light-hearted people; they love gaiety and amusement; they welcome strangers with cordiality and courtesy, and one of the surnames of their town, that of "La Gentile," is prized more highly by them than that of "La Dotta"—kindliness and graciousness ranking in their eyes even before learning and erudition. The Bolognese love of music has ever been a noted feature in the history of their town, and though time and space forbid any enlarging on this subject the fact should not be forgotten that Bologna introduced Wagner to the Italian public, when *Lohengrin* was given for the first time in Italy early in the nineties. Here too Boito's *Mefistofele* was heard for the first time. Again, in the eighteenth century, Burney, in his *Musical Tour*, tells how he came to Bologna in 1771 expressly to see Padre Martini and Farinelli, "the former being regarded by all Europe as the deepest theorist, and the other as the greatest practical musician

of this or perhaps of any age or country." [1] Bologna must be seen and known to be appreciated at her true worth, and the traveller who will devote if but a few days to the study of this remarkable town will be richly repaid. The memories of a great Past will meet him at every turn, and enable him to enter very fully into the activities and energies that form so characteristic a feature of the Bologna of to-day.

The help and kindness that I received during my visits to Bologna can never be forgotten, or acknowledged with sufficient gratitude, while the fact that an English book was to make known abroad the story of their city evoked such lively satisfaction among my Bolognese friends as to prove one of the greatest incentives for the writing and finishing of such a book.

My chief thanks are due to Cavaliere Professore Lino Sighinolfi, of the Museo Civico and the Archiginnasio, who spared neither time nor trouble in making me acquainted with the town itself and with every work relating to it. I am also indebted to him for leave to reproduce the plan of the town at the end of the book from his excellent *Guida di Bologna*. My thanks are also due to: Conte Fr. Valeri Malaguzzi, the learned and cultivated Director of the Pinacoteca, who revealed to me the wonders of the Bolognese School in the Gallery of Fine Arts and allowed me to reproduce several of the illustrations from his book on the Pinacoteca; to Monsignor D. Giulio Belvederi, who has made such important studies on the "mysterious" Church of Santo Stefano; to Conte Francesco

[1] Charles Burney, Mus.D., *The Present State of Music in France and Italy, or the Journal of a Tour through those Countries*, p. 198. London, 1773.

Cavazza, for his valuable work on "Lo Studio Bolognese"; to Cavaliere F. Cantoni, whose help and guidance were unfailing; to Contessa Gucci Boschi and her son; to Signora Lina Bernaroli and to Marchesa Maria Rocca Rusconi, for much help and kindness; and to Signorina Giovanna Bonino, who never wearied in her capacity of "cicerone," and in showing me every nook and cranny of a town she knows so well and loves so truly. My thanks are due to Mr. Lionel Cust for help in reading the proofs and many useful suggestions on the Picture Gallery and art of Bologna.

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The Story of Bologna

CHAPTER I

Origin and Rise of the City—Bologna under the Etruscans—Under the Romans—Papal Supremacy as preferred to Imperial Supremacy.

THE early history of Bologna can have but a relative interest for the traveller who intends spending only a few days within its walls, and to whom a Past—so remote as to savour almost of the fabulous—can only speak in very limited, sometimes even very dull tones. Some allusion to this past is necessary, together with some mention of how the town first arose, and who were its founders and earliest inhabitants. Ligurians, Umbrians, Etruscans were in turn its first inhabitants, and these last, whether they came from the north or from the south, have certainly left an impress on the town which exists to this day, and which proves an unending source of delight to historian and archæologist alike every time an excavation is made or a fresh sod of earth upturned. Situated at the foot of the northern spur of the Apennines, the position of Bologna in the very centre of Italy makes it of special and unique importance as the chief junction, as it were, of the Peninsula, and through which its commerce can command widespread circulation. It stands in a rich and fertile plain, with small and great rivers beside it (to the

north is the Po, and nearer still the Savena and the Reno), with the Adriatic at no remote distance, so that it possesses the many advantages that such a convenience of waterways implies, while its land route communicates to the north with Lombardy and Venetia, and to the south with Tuscany, Emilia and the Marches. A system of canals supplements the river-power of Bologna; these canals, most of which are carried underground, being the Canale del Reno, del Naviglio or di Porta Nobile, delle Moline, di Savena, dell' Aposa. This latter takes its name from the torrent Aposa which rises near Monte Padermo, winds round the hill of S. Michele in Bosco, enters its underground course through the city between the Porta d'Azeglio and Porta Castiglione, where it joins forces with the Canale di Savena (this rises near S. Ruffillo), both flowing eventually into the Reno. These waters have borne and still bear their part in the city's well-being and industries. They have served as carriers for its commerce, they have worked the mills for grinding corn, they were all-essential for the dyer's art, for silk, wool, paper and pottery factories, while to-day their services are in daily request for electrical purposes.

Nature has lavished her gifts plentifully in this region of Italy: the soil is of surpassing richness and fertility; corn, wine, oil, hemp, and other fruits of the earth justify one of Bologna's titles of "La Grassa," and from an agricultural point of view she ranks high among Italian states. A more dignified surname, "La Dotta" (learned), comes to her through the famous University; while another, that of "La Gentile," is due to the ready courtesy she extends to foreigners.

The first name borne by the city was that of

"Felsina," from Felsino, King of Tuscany, who, according to Ghirardacci,[1] reigned from 897 to 865 B.C. Another legend ascribes the name to Felsina, the daughter of one Fero, or Ferro, who with his daughter and his wife Aposa had come to this spot with the intent of building a house here. One day, overcome by toil and heat, he fainted away, but was revived by his daughter, who restored him with some water from a neighbouring stream, and prayed that as a reward for her labours the place might be called after her. The father consented, and he proceeded further to call the stream Aposa after his wife, who was drowned there one day while bathing.

King Felsino was followed by his son Bono, who loved the town so dearly that he altered its name to Bononia after himself, a name by which it was known for years, and from which with slight modifications it has become the Bologna of to-day.

Bologna was made the metropolis of twelve other cities, and remained under the rule of the Etruscans till the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, fifth King of Rome (580 B.C.), when the Celtic Gauls under Belloveso crossed the Alps, drove the Etruscans from before them, and spread victoriously over the rich lands lying between the Apennines and the Adriatic. They retained Bologna as their capital, and called the neighbouring river Reno, or Rhine, in remembrance of the river of that same name in the country they had so recently left.

Bologna, "with the region of Felsina," was assigned to the Boii, a strong and numerous tribe of the Gauls who hailed from "Gallia Lugdunensis,"

[1] Ghirardacci, *Della Historia di Bologna*. In Bologna per Giovanni Rossi, 1596.

and confirmed the choice of Bologna as the capital. Their possession of this region was hotly contested by the Romans, and a series of fights ensued with alternating results, the Boii frequently remaining victors, only to be as often defeated by the Romans. These last, however, finally remained conquerors, and showed their satisfaction and appreciation by showering benefits and favours on Bologna. The town was raised to the rank of a Roman colony; it was granted laws and privileges; baths and an amphitheatre; its inhabitants donned the dress of Roman men and women of fashion, and adopted the Roman tongue in the place of the rude barbarian language that had been in vogue till then. It was the old story of Roman civilisation against northern barbarism, and the Roman triumphed.

Their civilising arts were soon brought into play, for in 188 B.C. the Consul Caius Flaminius built a road from Bologna to Emilia and his colleague Marcus Æmilius Lepidus built another in the opposite direction from Bologna to Rimini, the one being known as the Flaminian, the other as the Æmilian Way, names which remain to this day. In the Via Mazzini and near the Torre degli Asinelli, traces of the Æmilian Way have been found which show how the road lay at a depth of two metres below the present surface, and traversed the very heart of the city from the Porta S. Felice to the Porta Mazzini.

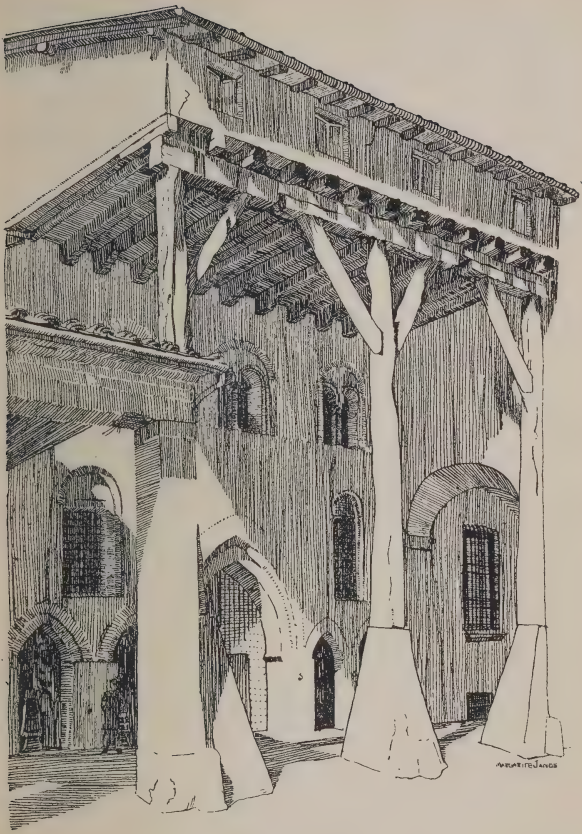
On the death of Julius Cæsar, "ides of March 44 years B.C.," the second triumvirate was formed, consisting of Mark Antony, Octavius Cæsar and Lepidus, who met on an island on the Reno, and there divided among themselves what Roman arms had conquered of the known world. This triumvirate was of short duration. Lepidus was put to

death; Octavius Cæsar and Mark Antony quarrelled, Bologna espousing the cause of the latter and sending men and arms to his aid when he was kept prisoner at Modena. From thence he fled to Egypt and succumbed to the wiles and charms of Cleopatra. Bologna, which had suffered much in the strife, had no choice but to own the sway of Octavius, or as he now became known, Augustus Cæsar, and the choice was a wise one. Endless privileges were granted to the city; temples, baths, amphitheatres rose within the walls; an influx of rich nobles brought wealth and occupation in their train; and in the reign of Claudius Cæsar Bologna ranked as one of the five richest towns of Italy.

The striking aspect of the town, with its streets of interminable colonnades — "portici" — existed from early days, for these "portici," like so much else in Bologna, date from the time of the Etruscans. The extent of the city was at first small, being limited to the first circuit of walls, which was enclosed on the east side by that branch of the Aposa which flows by Porta Ravegnana; on the west by the original Zecca; on the south by the houses of Bevilacqua and Marsigli; on the north by the church of the Madonna di Galliera. This earliest circuit of the walls had but four gates (Porta Stiera, Porta Piera, Porta Procola and Porta Ravegnana); the town itself being split up into four quarters or districts which took their names from these respective gates. Second and third circles were added as the needs of a growing population required more space. The second circle dates from the year 1139, and the third from 1330, spreading this time in a south-east direction; but the work progressed slowly, and it was not till

1370 that it was decreed that the walls enclosing this third circle should be turreted for better defence in time of war. Fire was one of the hindrances that often held up building operations in Bologna, and when we consider how the houses at first were entirely of wood, with the roofs all of thatch, the only wonder is that the city exists to this day. The first fire recorded was in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, A.D. 50, which Tacitus says was of so fierce a nature that the town was almost destroyed. Nero, then a youth and high in favour with the emperor, was moved at the sight of the ruin and distress which had come about, and pleaded that help should be sent from Rome. A sum of one hundred sesterces was granted by the Emperor, which did much to restore and rebuild the city, and eventually Nero himself did even more; he rebuilt the baths, and at his death bequeathed a sum of four hundred sesterces to endow them.

Little is known of the history of Bologna during the first ages of Christianity, beyond the fact that she was subject to the rule of the Exarch of Ravenna, and remained so till the time of the barbarian invasion. She did not, however, escape the fierce outburst of persecution that followed on her efforts to break away from Pagan worship, a worship that had been introduced by the Etruscans, and that from the number of temples built throughout the town to Etruscan deities serves to show how firm a hold Paganism had on the inhabitants. There were temples to the much-loved and highly venerated Iris, to Tina or Tinia, to Thelma, to Meuvra and many others, including the "Dii Consentes," or the Consenting Gods, the Shrouded Gods ("Dii Invocati"), "mysterious deities," says



CASA ISOLANI

Miss Coulson James,[1] "to whom gods as well as men owed obedience." In art we come across Sethlans, the Roman Vulcan, while Bacchus is met with under the full-sounding name of "Phuphlums." The gods of the infernal regions were Mantus and Mantia, and on many of the carved stelæ we see their messenger, Charon, guiding souls to their resting-place in the other world.

Besides these Etruscan rites were the Gallic rites, which held the oak tree in special veneration, and under whose shadow sacrifices and oblations were freely offered. The wooded heights around Bologna lent themselves particularly to these ceremonials, and close to the Temple of Iris at S. Michele in Bosco there were the "sacred forests" where the Druids lived and practised their special rites. These were followed in their turn by Roman gods and Roman practices, and altars and temples to Jove, Minerva, Apollo, Mars, Ceres, Pan, and Bacchus arose in and outside the town. The lighter side of life was also present in Bologna. Theatres, circuses, and other places of amusement and relaxation sprang up in many quarters of the town. There was the theatre of Marcellus, which originally stood between the Church of S. Stefano and the Porta Ravegnana (this gate was so called because by it, and passing through the Porta S. Vitale, the road led to Ravenna); the "Teatro Maggiore" of Marcus Aurelius, which stood in the Square of S. Stefano; the "Circo Agonale," a circus where public games were held, and which stood on the site afterwards occupied by the ex-Convent and Church of Sta. Maria della Carità;

[1] Edith E. Coulson James, *Bologna: Its History, Antiquities and Art*, chap. ii. p. 17. London, H. F. Froude. Oxford University Press, 1909.

and the "Arena," near the old tower of S. Felice, where it is said the first Christian martyrs were put to death.

Christianity was first introduced into Bologna by S. Apollinare, Bishop of Ravenna (A.D. 44), though evidently it was not till the year 265 that any bishop was appointed as head of the Church. S. Sama was then elected as Bologna's first bishop, though it is unlikely that for two whole centuries (during which time many holy men both suffered for the faith and adorned it with their saintly lives) no head was set up over the nascent Church. It is probable that the names of the early pastors of the flock were either merged among those of their lesser brethren, or lost in the dust of ages. Among those names, however, which have come down to us as being the first martyrs in Bologna are those of Ermete, Cajo and Aggeo, all of them young men of rank and fashion in the town, and who perished in the persecutions that raged in the reigns of Diocletian and Maximian. The first to be canonised were S. Vitale and his servant S. Agricola (to whom the church bearing their joint names was afterwards dedicated), who underwent horrible tortures in the arena before they were finally crucified and their bodies flung into the burying-ground of the Jews.

Another saint often to be met with in Bolognese art and story is S. Procolo, who won martyrdom and renown in the following manner: A prefect of the name of Marino had been sent from Rome to Bologna who proved a bitter foe to the Christians, and persecuted them remorselessly. Procolo, "a polished and valiant knight," determined to rid the town of its persecutor. He repaired one night to the prefect's house, concealing a hatchet

under his cloak, and being a person of consequence was readily admitted into the chamber where Marino was sitting alone. Procolo immediately dealt him a death blow on his head, though not before the dying man had uttered a loud and piercing cry which brought his servants running in. They seized on Procolo, who made no attempt to save or excuse himself, saying what he had done he had done to free his town from cruelty and persecution, and for the good of Christianity. He was dragged to the place of execution outside the gate of S. Mamolo, where he was promptly beheaded. His head had barely been cut off when his body arose, and, taking the head in its hands, carried it to the spot in the town where a prophetic instinct had told the saint that a church would one day be built in his honour.

Bologna, together with all the Romagna, rebelled early in the eighth century against the Greeks and the Lombards, who were constantly warring against one or other of their neighbours, and who deemed the moment an opportune one in which to press forward for conquest. In this they succeeded, and in 711 their rule was set up in Bologna under their King Luitprand, and continued under his son Aistolfo (749), who, having driven Eutychius out of Ravenna, established his seat of government there. He aimed, however, at the conquest of Rome, and the Pope, Stephen II., in his alarm invoked the aid of Pepin le Bref, King of France, who came to the rescue with a powerful army and defeated Aistolfo in 755. Peace was concluded on the Lombard monarch promising to refrain from further warfare, a condition which was not kept, and Pepin, who had gone back to France, came again into Italy with a fresh army and gained a

fresh victory over Aistolfo. The latter had to surrender all his conquests in the Exarchate to the Pope (Bologna being probably included), and peace was again restored.

No stirring events stand out in Bolognese history in the years that followed the fall of Carlovingian rule in Italy. The Frankish power was transferred to Germany, and from the days of Frederick Barbarossa onwards German influences and interests played an important part in the affairs of the Peninsula.

As early as 1087 a "civic guard" was raised in Bologna, while measures for ensuring the safety of the citizens were taken by setting aside a church in each of the quarters of the town where in case of war or serious riots in the streets the people could take refuge. These churches were S. Isaia, S. Vitale, S. Procolo, and S. Pietro; and to each district was assigned its banner or gonfalon, "and those who carried it were called 'gonfalonieri,' an office that has always been observed in a Republic, and is even observed to this day."

The city flag, bearing a red cross on a white field, dates from the time of the Crusades in 1094, when many nobles of Bologna became Crusaders, among them being members of the Garisenda family,[1] the Ramponi, Lambertacci, Passipoveri, Bianchetti, Geremei, Caccianemici, Gozzadini, and other great patrician families.

"Plague, pestilence and famine" followed in the

[1] The two Garisenda brothers, Filippo and Oddo, on their return from the Holy Land founded the tower which bears their name to this day, and is famous (and unsightly!) from the angle at which it leans and from its strange and uncouth proportions. Dante alludes to it under the name "Carisenda" (*Inferno*, canto xxxi. ver. 136).

wake of the Hungarian invasion in the tenth century, and Bologna suffered greatly from their barbarous inroad. Her energies were spent, and it was not till the twelfth century that she came to the fore in a marked way. She then, however, began to show signs of the great part she was to play in the education and civilisation of the world at large. It was the epoch when throughout Italy the Communes were beginning to take shape and to lay the foundation of their existence on those privileges which Otho the Great had granted to the different towns, when at the close of the tenth century he had entered Italy to free the country from the tyranny and oppression of Berengario of Ivrea. From the very first Bologna rose to a post of pre-eminence among the Communes, and at the close of the twelfth century she had already begun to set in order her various institutions, and gather together laws, rights, and decrees in order to combat feudalism and to ensure liberty for all ranks alike. There were assemblies of the people, of Consuls, of Guilds and Councils, of the Company of "Arts and Arms" and other governing bodies, who assumed the guidance of the different districts into which for some time past the city had already been parcelled out. Though at first this was a citizen government, it was essentially aristocratic in character; none but nobles or military men of rank could hold office, the share taken by the people being infinitesimal. This was greatly modified after the Crusades, when the power and influence of the lower classes increased largely, and after hard and frequent riots and fightings the Commune, in the strict sense of the word, came into its own and remained in power.

Among other offices instituted was that of the

Podestà, which came into force in 1153, while before that were the three councils known as the "Consiglio Speciale," "Consiglio Generale" and "Consiglio di Credenza," "so that all who read may know and understand that in those old and rough times the administration of the City was carried out with much good sense, nor were affairs of arms treated foolishly."[1] From the three Councils sprang eventually the Six Hundred, who formed a kind of Parliament with rules and restrictions of a most intricate and rigid order. A large number of notaries were appointed to the Councils, while lawyers, jurists and anyone of note in the University were freely admitted, the respect and honour paid to the legal standing from the very earliest times being a point that must never be lost sight of in the story of Bologna. There was also a perfect string of judges, of rectors, consuls, procurators, quæstors and other dignitaries to whom different offices were apportioned, not omitting legates, prætors, curators, and syndics. Another important office was that of the Anziani, though actually they were only instituted in 1228.

It was then that most of those wonderful and grand towers were built in such numbers throughout the town,[2] and which were erected by the

[1] Ghirardacci, *op. cit.*, lib. ii. p. 63.

[2] The first tower erected in the town was said to have been in 910 by the Rodaldi family, but this has not been proved, and it is pretty clear that it was not till the twelfth century that this craze for building towers began. In the year 1257 alone no less than thirty-six were set up, to be followed by so many more that Bologna was rightly called "the Towered City." The last one built from the very foundations was the one built by the Bentivogli in 1489. The principal ones, "l'Asinella," "la Garisenda," "la

PANORAMA OF THE CITY OF BOLOGNA

nobles and some of the Guilds in order to make head against the growing power of the people, while their owners applied in turn to the Popes and Emperors to unite with them at keeping under a class whom they all equally feared and whose increasing force was a menace to all alike.

In the midst of these bitter and internecine divisions arose the wider-spread factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, factions whose names, though of foreign origin, referred almost always to the supporters of the Pope and the Emperor. In Italy these names were perhaps as often connected with the struggles between the Commune and the feudal power as to things relating to the Papacy and the Empire, and Bologna frequently came under their opposing influences. She passed under the Papal dominion in 1231, having obtained honourable conditions, but shortly afterwards she was tossed backwards and forwards under so many different rulers, and that, too, for such brief periods, that once she passed in the course of a few hours under the rule of no less than three different heads.

To enumerate the many changes of government and overlords under whose rule Bologna passed in turn would be a long and wearisome business; and for the present purpose it may suffice to record the leading features in her political story and the most salient points in which her history touched that of the rest of Italy. She was one among the chief

Coronata," "l'Azzoguidi," "la Galluzzi," and "l'Occelletti," are preserved for the most part intact to this day; others again have been truncated, or levelled to the roofs of the houses to which they belong. Bad building, earthquakes and other vicissitudes account for the disappearance of many, while others again were demolished by order of the magistrates.

Italian towns to join the Lombard League, that League formed by the most influential part of Northern and Central Italy to make head against the Emperor of Germany. Early in 1100, at the Council of Guastalla, she was declared by the Pope, Pascal II., free from all subjection to Ravenna; while later in this century she was affected by the rivalries between Henry of Swabia and the Contessa Matilda, the great lady who through her strong support of the Papacy and her legacy to Rome of the enormous wealth she had inherited from her father, Boniface, Count of Tuscany, figures so largely in the history of the Italian Middle Ages. Bologna joined the Contessa on the Papal side, and continued this support after Matilda's death (1115)[1] and again towards the end of the century when Frederick Barbarossa came into Italy (1158) to make good his rights and assert his claim to the patrimony that the great Contessa had left to Rome. He convened a Diet of nobles, lords spiritual and temporal, and consuls, lawyers and jurists from all parts of the country at Roncaglia, and the four great legal men of Bologna, Bulgaro,[2] Martino, Ugo and Jacopo, were called on to take a prominent part in discussing and sifting the many points of controversy. Peace and harmony were restored by concessions being made on both sides, and Frederick, with his mind at ease as far as Italy was concerned, set

[1] "She passed," says Ghirardacci, "to a more happy life in the seventy-sixth year of her age, leaving all Italy sore distrest and especially the Bolognese, to whom she bequeathed some lands and houses to serve for ecclesiastical purposes."

[2] This man, perhaps the most famous of the many famous jurists of Bologna, died there in the year 1165, and was buried in S. Petronio.

out a few years later for the Crusades, and died in 1190 in the Holy Land.

He was succeeded by his son Henry VI., who only reigned seven years, leaving the crown to his infant son Frederick, who on the death of his mother, Constance of Sicily, was placed under the guardianship of Pope Innocent III. Otho IV. had in the meanwhile been elected Emperor, but the nobles fell away from him, and in 1212 young Frederick was elected King of the Romans. Two years later Otho met with a crushing defeat at the battle of Bouvines. He died in 1218, and in 1220 Frederick was crowned Emperor by Pope Honorius III. In spite of his learning and the brilliancy of his court, which poets and historians have chronicled and sung in turn, Frederick's reign was troubled by wars and insurrections both within and without the Empire, while the Pope seized on every excuse and opportunity to excommunicate him and to wrest from him his rights to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which he had inherited from his mother. Frederick had no choice but to resort to arms, and he despatched a force under his son Enzo, King of Sardinia, to uphold his cause in Italy. We shall read in the next chapter the result of this campaign and the fate of the unfortunate young King.

CHAPTER II

Battle of Fossalta—King Enzo taken prisoner—His captivity—Legends that have arisen around it

THE touch of glamour and romance that is rarely wanting in the wars and struggles of the Middle Ages, whether in Italy or elsewhere, was well sustained in the story of King Enzo and the battle of Fossalta, fought in May 1249 between the men of Modena and those of Bologna. The quarrel was one of the usual ones between neighbouring States without which life in those days would probably have been dull and monotonous, as no occasion would otherwise have arisen for the manhood and youth of the nation to have proved their vigour or put forth their mettle and chivalry. The victory won on this occasion by the Bolognese was of special interest from the number and quality of the prisoners taken, chief among them being Enzo, King of Sardinia and a natural son of the Emperor Frederick II. His horse was killed under him after he had given proof of undaunted courage and shown himself a soldier of no mean order. The news of the victory and the capture of such a prisoner caused widespread joy in Bologna, and arrangements were at once made to celebrate the event in a fashion worthy of the occasion. The chroniclers of the day must have revelled in recording what took place, and the following account, passed on to us by a modern writer[1] from the pages of Fra Leandro Alberti, gives a good idea

[1] L. Frati, *La Prigionia del Re Enzo a Bologna*, p. 5. Bologna, Zanichelli, 1902.

of the scene. "First of all," he says, "the streets were decked with flowering branches off the trees and with hanging draperies. Then came all the Senate with the citizens arrayed in rich robes and their wives likewise. When all was in readiness the Senate despatched many citizens on horseback as far as Anzola to meet the Captain and conduct him to the city, which he entered in this order: First came the trumpeters sounding as for battle, followed by some squadrons of light cavalry. After them came the foot soldiers in groups of five, crowned with oak leaves, then the drummers and their banners, dragging after them on the ground the banners taken in battle from the enemy, and carrying the spoil they had taken of costly garments, gold and silver vessels, with other valuables, chief among them being the royal jewels. Behind the infantry came the 'carroccio' (war chariot), dragged by oxen all bedecked, including their yokes, in scarlet, while aloft flew the Standard with the badge of the Senate and of the people of Bologna. Around the car were some foot soldiers, clad in armour, with long drawn swords to protect it from insults. Behind the car came the prisoners, bound two and two, and King Enzo brought up the rear on a mule. The prisoners were guarded by many soldiers to prevent their escaping. . . . Last of all came the victorious Captain armed with shining weapons, clad in silk, his bâton in his hand, crowned with laurel and mounted on a white charger. Many squadrons of heavily armoured cavalry followed him, also crowned with laurel, and making in sooth a fine sight. In this order the Captain entered the city to the sound of trumpets, pipes and other instruments; and so great was the concourse of people gathered at the entry of the gate of the

city to view this triumph, that the gonfaloniers had to force the crowd back with their clubs in order for the soldiers to pass.

"Everyone was anxious to see the King among the captives. Indeed it was a great spectacle to see first the spoils of the enemy, and then so many noble prisoners, but greater still was it to see King Enzo (who was not yet twenty-four years old), of beautiful form, with the face of an angel, and having fair long locks which reached down to his waist." The procession was met at the city gates by the bishop and clergy, singing hymns of thanksgiving for the glorious victory, while the other town magnates, the Cardinal and the Podestà, were escorted under a " baldachino " borne by young Bolognese noblemen dressed in white and red, the city's colours, and preceded by the clergy and the magistrates through streets decked with choice tapestries and green boughs, to the sound of drums and amid vociferous applause. When they reached the Cathedral the Legate blessed the people after he had accompanied the luckless young King to his prison, and seen him safely and well secured. The next day a Council was held to settle what should be done with such a concourse of prisoners, and it was decided that, either by ransom or exchange, all should be set at liberty, except the King who was never, no matter under what conditions, to be set free. He was to remain a prisoner as long as he lived, provided for by the State, and maintained in every respect in a way befitting his rank. So for twenty-three years, that is until the 14th March, 1272, King Enzo lived in durance vile, and in spite of all the honours shown him his fate was a wretched one, and his existence was nothing more or less than unrelieved captivity.

The legends that surround this captivity were many and various, and though from an historical point of view they may not claim unlimited acceptance, they are at the same time so woven into this period of Bolognese story that they can neither be ignored nor omitted. In the first place there can be no doubt whatever that he was confined in that part of the Palace of the Podestà that overlooks the fountain of Neptune, in the same room where the Acts of the Notaries were afterwards stored. It is at the same time quite untrue that he was shut up every night in a large cage made of wood and iron and suspended in the middle of one of the rooms; and it is also untrue that he was bound with chains of gold while those of his fellow-prisoners were of iron. The legend of how the King's captivity was lightened by the company of a young and lovely Bolognese maiden, though not resting on much historical evidence, has yet remained so enshrined in popular tradition as to colour it with just some possibility of truth. An old chronicle [1] gives the anecdote as follows: "Be it known that the said King fell in love with a peasant girl of Viadagola, by name Lucia, who was the loveliest maid that could be seen, and whenever the said Lucia came into the Square the King exclaimed: 'Anima mia, ben ti voglio.' Pietro degli Asinelli, who was daily with the King, arranged so as to bring her to him, and in the end she was found with child and bare a son to whom she gave the name of Bentivoglio. And from him sprang the noble house of that name." The legend is a pretty one, though

[1] *Memorie della città di Bologna dall' origine della città al* 1445. Nel Codice, 582—Tom. I. c. 28. E' una copia del sec. xviii., apartenente a Giovanni Francesco Negri, poi al Ghiselli, ora presso la Biblioteca Universale.

Litta and other genealogists disallow it, and claim for the house of Bentivoglio an origin at least a whole century earlier than the date of King Enzo's captivity.

Another legend more generally accepted as having taken place is that of the King's attempt to escape from his prison. His chief friend was the Pietro degli Asinelli of whom mention has already been made, and in whom, according to Ghirardacci, the King confided "more even than in himself."[1] He accordingly disclosed his designs to him, and promised to reward him handsomely should he effect his escape. Pietro got hold of a vintner whom he knew, a man of strong build and very powerful, whom by means of large bribes he won to his cause. They planned together that on a certain day the vintner should come to the prison carrying a large vat or cask of wine with the pretence that the King required the wine. The vat was brought, the wine poured off and the captive crept inside the cask. The vintner shouldered it, and walked off with so jaunty a step as to give the impression that his load was a light one. In this way he managed to walk safely and unsuspected to a spot where one Rainerio de' Confalonieri of Piacenza, who was in the plot, was in waiting with horses and all prepared for flight. Success seemed within their very grasp, but as ill-luck would have it a soldier walking that way became aware of a fair head and long flowing locks showing from the top of the vat! He guessed at once who it was, gave the alarm, and the prisoner was discovered and at once taken back to prison. The conspirators

[1] "Enzo," says Ghirardacci, "had formed so close a friendship with Pietro degli Asinelli as to confide in him more even than in himself." *Op. cit.*, book i. p. 213.

were all tried and executed, except Pietro degli Asinelli, who escaped with his life, but all his goods were confiscated and he was condemned to perpetual exile. The luckless King was subjected to more rigorous treatment, and his visitors were restricted as to numbers, and not allowed to come and go so freely as before. The Emperor Frederick II. left no stone unturned to effect his son's release; persons of high rank were offered in exchange for him, and it is even said that he was willing to give the people of Bologna enough silver to encircle their walls if only they would restore his son to him. Threats, too, of an alarming nature were also uttered by Frederick, but the obdurate victors always gave the same reply: "King Enzo belongs to us by right of war, and as our prisoner we hold him," and from that decision they never swerved.

Poor Enzo's hopes of release after his father's death on 13th December, 1250, grew less and less, and the attempt to regain his freedom—made after that date—in no wise tended to ameliorate his lot. He was, however, allowed the company of several young nobles of Bologna, who were told off to visit him daily every fortnight, and who might not evade attendance during that time. They might only speak to the King in the presence of his jailers, and when the evening bell rang they withdrew. The King passed the night locked in and alone save for the presence of a soldier or usher appointed by the judge, who kept the key of his room; the other was kept by the guardian of the prison. At the ringing of the bells at early morning the door was unlocked, but no playing of cards or dice or any kind of games were allowed in the prisoner's chamber, nor were his keepers allowed to speak to him. Some little pleasure he may have

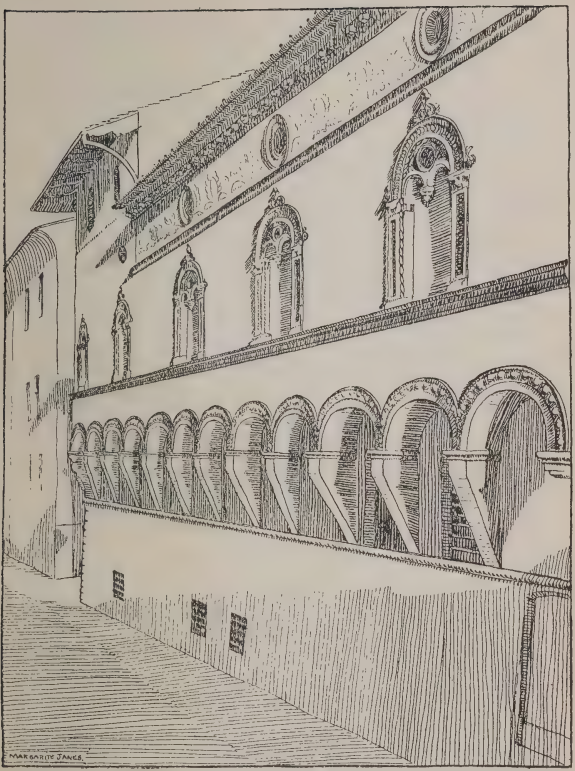
perhaps derived from his clothes, for we read of several tailors being called in to attend to his wardrobe, and as he remembered the head one of them in his will it may be that the man had cheered him now and again with gossip from the outer world and so left a kindly impression on the royal captive's mind. The same was the case, too, with a shoemaker who attended to his boots, those boots which never trod the longed-for open paths of liberty.

Early in March 1272 King Enzo fell ill, and on the 14th of the month, after making his will, he died. He left three daughters, Elena, Maddalena and Costanza, and to Elena—the only legitimate one of the three—he bequeathed the Kingdom of Sardinia, and to her children after her. To his natural daughters he left "a thousand ounces of gold apiece."

All the details that come to light over Enzo's will only enhance the high and lovable character of the man, and the mention in it of all who had been kind to him shows him to have been of an affectionate and grateful nature. The appeal he makes to the Commune of Bologna in regard to his illness and his physicians is very touching, for he begs them "to have compassion on his woes, not to heed the expenses consequent thereon, but to reward the honesty of the doctors who had attended him: Taddeo, Paolo, Bartolo, Pellegrino, Amedeo" (Alberico, of the patrician family of that name), "and Alessio."[1] We can but echo Count Gozzadini's words: "Poor Enzo, what a bevy of 'doctors'!"

One of the witnesses of his will was Luchetto

[1] Conte G. Gozzadini, *Le Torre Gentilizie di Bologna*. Bologna, Zanichelli, 1875.



CASA DEI CARRACCI

Gettalusi, the Provençal troubadour, who often visited the King in his prison, and whose company must have been of special delight to Enzo, himself a poet of no common order, and whose songs have been published in a collection of fourteenth-century rhymes under the King's name.[1]

His funeral was elaborate and regal. "His body," says Negri,[2] "was embalmed and placed on a bier covered with the finest scarlet damask, with a robe of the same lined with ermine. On his head was a crown of jewels, in his hand a sceptre of gold. The coffin with due pomp and solemnity was borne under a baldaquin of crimson velvet lined with squirrel fur to the Church of the Dominican Brothers, preceded by the clergy and followed by the magistrates and all the nobility." This was all done at the expense of the Commune of Bologna, and a fine tomb, restored again and again, was erected by the town, and was perhaps considered ample compensation for the long dreary captivity undergone by one whose "great military genius and brilliant gifts of mind and person deserved a better fate."[3]

The memory of King Enzo and his captivity has occupied a place in Bolognese art and sculpture and story that will not easily fade away. For years after his death, and even down to the close of the eighteenth century, a popular and riotous festival, known as that of "La Porchetta," was held in honour of the victory of Fossalta, when

[1] Dante Gabriel Rossetti in his *Collected Works*, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 262, gives a translation of one of King Enzo's sonnets, "On the Fitness of Seasons."

[2] Negri, *Annali di Bologna*, MSS. presso la Biblioteca Universale di Bologna all' a 1272.

[3] D. G. Rossetti, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

he was taken a prisoner. At this festival a small pig—and many other viands besides—was roasted whole and thrown in fragments to a surging crowd in the Great Square. Men, women and children scrambled and fought for all they could get, for not only were there dainty morsels to be had, but the Cardinal Legate also flung largess of gold and silver among the crowd. Nor was a carnival considered successful that did not introduce the royal captive in one guise or another. In one of these he is shown "surrounded by six high officials without either hat or sword, held by silken cords of gold and seated on a remarkable steed from whose mouth foam flowed and who seemed to tremble with wrath at the captivity of his Royal master." [1]

In painting the King's memory is preserved in L. Serra's picture of Irnerius in the Hall of the Provincial Council, where the background shows the Bolognese army returning in triumph from Fossalta with the captive monarch seated in a war chariot. In sculpture we find him represented on a bas-relief on the staircase leading to the Montagnolo, showing again the captive brought to Bologna. This work is by the sculptor Veronesi.

Poets and dramatists in Italy and other countries have sung the tragedy of the young King, and a graceful allusion was made to him by Carducci when, in the presence of Queen Margherita of Savoy and a crowded audience in the Square, the greatest of modern Italian poets called up a vision of "Enzo of Sardinia standing erect among the battlemented towers, without sword or helmet, his left hand resting on a shield whereon was the black Imperial eagle, his right hand on his breast,

[1] L. Frati, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

he himself, fair and sadly serene, waving smiles and salutations all around." [1]

Few events have stirred more intensely the interest and sympathy of the people among whom such events took place than those relating to King Enzo, a man endowed with many and remarkable gifts, who endeared himself to all with whom he came in contact, and who was said even by his captors to have possessed the face of an angel.

[1] G. Carducci, *Confessioni e battaglie*, p. 344. Bologna, Zanichelli, 1890.

CHAPTER III

Bologna in the Middle Ages—Rise and Fall of the House of Bentivoglio

A SHORT summary of the political history of Bologna may be of interest here as bridging the interval between the battle of Fossalta and the epoch of the Bentivoglio rule, when a princely court brought in its train the glory and romance that seem to belong by right to each Italian town in turn, and to which Bologna was to prove no exception.

The victory of Fossalta (1249) was followed through most of the century by intestine wars and tumults that undid the advantages gained by the victory, and forced on the Bolognese the need for peace at almost any price. They considered the surest way to compass the desired end was to place their city under Papal dominion, and in 1276 ambassadors were sent to Rome for the purpose. The reigning Pontiff, Nicholas III., at once consented, and despatched his nephew, Bertoldo Orsini, as Legate to Bologna with special powers to quiet the opposing factions and restore peace. But party spirit ran too high for a "foreigner" to succeed in making his authority felt, and the Geremei or Guelph party only attacked the Lambertacci or Ghibellines more furiously than ever, and for ten years civil war raged and the streets ran red with fratricidal blood. The Geremei finally prevailed: the Lambertacci were exiled; and Guelph rule, chiefly under the sway of Rolandino Passaggeri, brought peace and prosperity to the town.

A new phase, however, followed: the big factions, that in spite of many drawbacks had yet kept alive an ardent love of liberty, had given place to factions between families, and the populace, divided in their affections, supported some special chief, and prepared in this way the rise of the "Signorie." The first of these family feuds in Bologna began between the Pepoli (whose followers were known as the "Scacchesi"—the Pepoli arms being a chess-board) and the Gozzadini or Maltraversi, whose arms were an irregular cross-bar. The Pepoli had the supremacy, their chosen leader being Taddeo Pepoli, who showed himself a wise and prudent ruler and worthy of his position. Not so his sons, who in 1337 sold their city to the Visconti of Milan for the sum of 200,000 florins. After the death of Giovanni, Archbishop and Lord of Milan, his successor, Matteo Visconti, deputed Giovanni da Oleggio to rule in his stead in Bologna. This handsome, unscrupulous and able tyrant soon possessed himself of the lordship of Bologna in the room of the Visconti, but his reign was marked by such insurrections, seditions and fightings that in 1360, unable to stem the disasters he himself had courted and fearing to fall into the hands of Bernabò Visconti, he bartered away the city to Cardinal Albornoz. He himself stole away —some say at dead of night, others in the early hours of the morning—after having "for nine years governed Bologna, first as Captain and Lieut.-General of the Archbishop, and then for himself. His lordship, often cruel and merciless, had crushed and depressed friends and foes alike, and so absolutely had he sacrificed the town — once rich, populous, and powerful—to his personal ambition as to bring it to the very verge of ruin, and

be forced to flee from it amid universal maledictions, leaving behind him squalor and misery and desolation." [1]

Till 1376 Bologna remained under the dominion of the Church, and the following year, after an effort to expel the Legate and restore the Republic, the town freely placed itself under the rule of Pope Gregory XI., and Giovanni da Legnano, an influential citizen of Bologna, was appointed Legate.

The contests, however, between the Visconti, the Church, and the home factions kept the city in a chronic state of disturbance, and a special outburst of one riot after another darkened the closing years of the fourteenth century. The Maltraversi began the fighting under their leader, Carlo Zambeccari, while opposed to him were Giovanni Bentivoglio and Nanne Gozzadini, both members of two of Bologna's noblest families whose descendants remain to this day.

We have now reached the period when the Bentivoglio family came to the fore as Lords of Bologna, a period that ranks as unquestionably the most brilliant and prosperous in the annals of the town, when the arts flourished, trade prospered, and the city reflected in its daily life the splendour caught from its rulers, which diffused itself speedily among all ranks and classes.

Giovanni Bentivoglio, as we have just seen, had already taken a successful part against the rebels; in 1401 he had again assisted in restoring order, and was in consequence rewarded with the high-sounding title of "magnifico e potente Signore." His fortune ended here; for the next year the

[1] Lino Sighinolfi, *La Signoria di Giovanni da Oleggio in Bologna*, 1355–1360, chap. vi. p. 317. Bologna, Zanichelli, 1905.

Visconti prevailed against him, the people looked upon him as a failure, murdered him cruelly in 1402, and opened their gates to the victors. The Visconti, however, proved themselves hard masters, and, bitterly disappointed, the populace implored to be placed again under the Papal yoke, and in charge of the Legate Baldassare Cossa, who became Pope as John XXIII. in 1410, and whose portrait is to be seen in the Bolognini Chapel in S. Petronio. More fighting and insurrections went on till 1420, when another Bentivoglio, Antonio Galeazzo, came forward in opposition to the Caneloti family and for a time made good his cause. The Pope, Martin V., first sided with him, and then changed to be his foe, banishing him to Castel Bolognese. Here he languished in exile for fifteen years, and was treacherously murdered in 1435. He left, however, a son, Annibale, born in exile, and who as a youth had seen much fighting in the wars in Naples, and had been trained to arms in the school of Michelozzo Attendoli. He was also learned and a ready speaker. Overtures were made to him to come to Bologna, and after some hesitation he accepted. Great rejoicings and festivities marked his arrival, and still greater ones took place in 1441 when he married Donnina Visconti, great-niece of the Duke of Milan. The young couple had but a brief spell of happiness. Conspiracies and rebellions were seething on all sides; the Ghisilieri and Canetoli were intent on overthrowing Annibale, and in 1445 they compassed his death. This death was bitterly resented in the town: Annibale had made himself beloved by the citizens, and they wreaked wholesale retribution on his murderers. The houses of the latter were destroyed, all who were caught were put to the sword, and all

who attempted to shield the assassins were at once executed. A general clamour arose for a member of the Bentivoglio family to take the lead of affairs. Annibale had left an only son, Giovanni, but he was only three years old, and till he was of age it was urged that Sante, a natural son of Ercole Bentivoglio and a nephew of Antonio Galeazzo, should assume office. A deputation accordingly waited on him at Florence, where he lived in strict retirement, and entreated him to come and act for his young kinsman. Sante accepted the offer, and hastened to Bologna to take up his new and unlooked-for duties. He was only twenty-two years old, but endowed with brilliant gifts and a high conception and understanding of the art of ruling. He first set to work to establish himself firmly in the seat of government, and then to bring peace and order into the town. He gave impulse and energy to the artistic, the intellectual, the economic life of Bologna, and he also secured the liberty and independence of the Commune. In 1454 he married Ginevra Sforza, the daughter of Alessandro Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, and niece of the Duke of Milan. This marriage was celebrated with all the state and pomp that such an occasion demanded. The rejoicings in Bologna are summed up for us by L. Frati in his delightful book, *La Vita privata di Bologna*,[1] where one old chronicler whom he cites speaks of the festivities being such as would have sufficed for "the court of a crowned King" (*in chorta de re de chorona*). Many houses were demolished to enlarge the way for the bridal cortège to pass, the streets were hung with different coloured draperies, and arches were erected of flowers, fruits

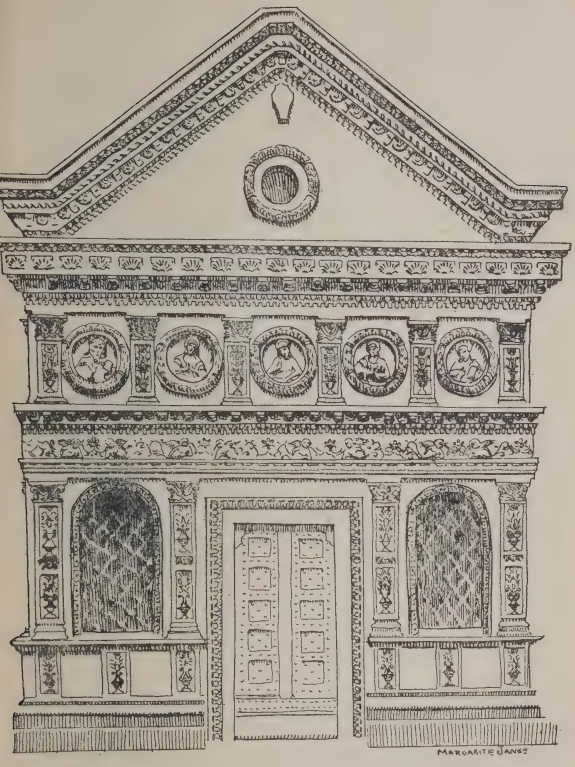
[1] L. Frati, *La Vita privata di Bologna dal secolo XIII al XVII*. Bologna, Zanichelli, 1900.

and garlands. "In front of the Bentivoglio palace was a fountain girt round with choice little trees, with festoons of flowers, fruits and oranges, and here stood three statues draped in the Sforza and Bentivoglio colours that poured water and white and red wine in such abundance that it ran along the streets like rivulets."[1] Tents and platforms were set up for the "players of instruments," and one small tent in which live pigeons flew in and out was especially set aside for the pipes and trumpets. A railed-in space was adorned with tapestry, and here on two sideboards glittered a fine display of silver. Under the arcades of the palace twenty tables were spread, whereat were seated some eighty ladies, waited on "by twenty-eight seneschals dressed in green velvet with pearls embroidered on their cuffs, and the Bentivoglio's cypher worked in silver and pearls on their stockings."

By this marriage Sante gained for himself friendly and close relationship with some of the most powerful families in Italy, even if his child-bride (she was but twelve at the time of the marriage) brought him only a few years' happiness and much unhappiness eventually to Bologna. A son, named Ercole, was born of this marriage in 1460, and in the same year Sante began the building of a palace that was to rank among the largest and most magnificent in Northern Italy, and whose destruction may be counted for ever as one of the worst misfortunes that ever befell the art-world. Sante Bentivoglio died in October 1463 greatly and rightly mourned in Bologna, where funeral honours were showered on him and where he was commemorated as "the father of the country,

[1] Frati, *op. cit.*

the honour of the people and the glory of the Senate." His successor was Annibale's son, known in history as Giovanni II. Bentivoglio, then twenty years old, and whose wisdom and powers of administration proved him worthy of the high post he was now to occupy. He was at once elected "Gonfaloniere di Giustizia," a title that proclaimed him Supreme Magistrate of the city, and that became him better than the prouder title he might have claimed of Lord or Governor of Bologna. His first care was directed towards the improvement of the town: he caused the roads to be paved with stones (it is not said if he was also responsible for the cobbles that to-day make walking in the streets a doubtful pleasure!); he set in order the drainage. He raised the army to a state of efficiency alike in number and discipline, and both at home and abroad he won the esteem of all with whom he came in contact. Artists, men of letters, of science and of learning flocked to his Court, attracted by his princely munificence and by an atmosphere in which all that was high and cultured found a congenial soil. The palace that his cousin Sante had begun was carried on by Giovanni in even more lordly proportions, and gave an impulse to architects, builders, sculptors and painters in turn. Never had Bologna known such an era of prosperity and activity; trade flourished; unemployment was unknown; one fine palace after another came into being; in all directions churches were built and embellished, and it seemed as if the Golden Age had descended on earth, or at all events on Bologna! And for a while this blissful state of things continued. In 1464 Giovanni married Ginevra Sforza, his cousin Sante's widow, thus establishing anew family and political bonds with the Duchy



FAÇADE OF CHURCH OF SANTO SPIRITO

of Milan; his negotiations with no less than seven successive Popes were eminently successful, for the Lord of Bologna, while never failing to recognise the claims of the Papacy, never at the same time allowed those claims to infringe on the independence and civic rights of his State. Nor was Giovanni unmindful of the lighter side of life and of keeping his people amused and cheerful.[1] A brilliant tournament was held in the Great Square on S. Petronio's Day (4th October) in 1470, when an amphitheatre was erected in front of the church, where damask hangings, silk brocades, tapestry and floral decorations made a gay and gaudy scene. Guests and visitors flocked from Tuscany and Lombardy, and the description of the knights who took part in the tourney, and the gorgeousness of their dresses, is chanted by the Florentine poet Francesco Cieco in a poem of no less than 412 stanzas. Giovanni II.—as was only fitting—outshone them all in the glory of his apparel: mounted on a magnificent bay steed, "Superbo" by name, and whose trappings were of white stuff with lions worked all over it, he had on a coat of mail of the most polished (*forbitissimo*) steel, over which was a tunic of white damask embroidered with mottoes and devices.

Another big tournament was held in the same square in 1487, on the occasion of the marriage of Giovanni's eldest son, Annibale, with Lucrezia, the natural daughter of Ercole d'Este, Lord of

[1] "As long as the Bentivoglios ruled in Bologna they strove to win the favour and good-will of the people by amusing them often with masquerades, jousts, tournaments and other diversions, especially at carnival time or at the chief religious seasons, or even to commemorate famous victories or civic triumphs." (L. Frati, *op. cit.*)

Ferrara. The damsel had been brought up at her father's court by the Duchess Leonora, together with the duchess's own daughters Isabella and Beatrice, and her education was in no whit behind that bestowed on these two celebrated ladies of the Renaissance. Annibale was a finished and courtly knight, who had borne himself bravely in several wars and was beloved by his soldiers. The wedding festivities lasted for four days, and no less than 3000 visitors "with as many horses," all housed and entertained by Bentivoglio, thronged the town. Duke Ercole and all his court were present, as well as the Marquis of Mantua, the Bishops of Urbino and Gravina (the latter representing the Pope), Galeazzo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini (representing the Venetian Republic), and ambassadors from the King of Naples, from Milan, and from Lorenzo de' Medici. No detail of the gaiety, the decoration, the religious ceremonials, the processions, the light-heartedness that the Italian mind enjoys so thoroughly and carries out so brilliantly, was omitted. The festivities were brought to an end by a banquet that lasted seven hours and consisted of twenty-eight courses. "There was every variety of poultry, game and quadrupeds decked in their respective feathers or skins, in the act of flying or running; castles of sugar in which were live birds that at a given signal were let loose; and others in which rabbits were shut up and a live pig who did his best to escape, grunting and climbing about, and thrusting his head through the battlements. Eight hundred *corbe* (hogsheads?) of wine were drunk; 30,000 lbs. of meat were devoured, not counting the game . . . and 350 lbs. of sweetmeats." [1]

[1] L. Frati, *op. cit.*, chap. iii. p. 56.

In the following year, 1488, the conspiracy of the Malvezzi came to light, a plot that aimed at the murder of the whole Bentivoglio family, and that only just missed coming off. The conspirators, however, were caught in time, the ringleaders—among them Giovanni Malvezzi—were put to death, and many others shared the same fate. Congratulations on his near escape poured in on Giovanni from the Pope and the chief princes in Italy, and a great thanksgiving service was held at Sta. Maria dei Servi, while Lorenzo Costa was ordered to paint a picture to commemorate the family's escape from assassination. This picture now hangs on the right wall in the Bentivoglio Chapel in S. Giacomo Maggiore, and shows the Madonna and Child enthroned, Giovanni II. on one side with his four sons below him, on the other side his wife, and below her again her seven daughters.

Giovanni II., however, was not engrossed in the social side of life to the exclusion of things practical and utilitarian. He had schemes for developing the waterways in and near the town to open out a means of transport between Bologna and Ferrara. Such a scheme involved enlarging the Canale del Reno and making it navigable for vessels of a certain size—a work that took three years to accomplish, but that fully attained its ends. Giovanni then arranged a great festival to inaugurate the finished works, and called on clergy and laity alike to take part in the ceremony. A finely built ship, called the *Bucentaur*, was ordered to be in readiness to convey the party from Corticella to the new port built in Bologna, and on the deck the Bishop, the Legate, Giovanni and his sons, together with the chief dignitaries of Church and State, took their places. An escort of boats

preceded and followed the *Bucentaur*, drums, fifes, firing of guns, and shouts of rejoicing rent the air, the concourse of people numbered some ten thousand, and the scene closed with the Bishop bestowing his blessing from the deck of the *Bucentaur*, amid the singing of hymns and the applause of the populace.

The bright side of the picture has now been reached, and the other side—that of overthrow and ruin—has now to be told. Political events in Italy were shaping in a manner antagonistic to Bologna and her lord, and upsetting the balance of power that helped to keep Giovanni firm in his seat. The death, too, in 1503 of Alexander VI. led to the nomination as Pope of Cardinal della Rovere, who took the name of Julius II., and who was a sworn foe to the Bentivogli. Julius was a warrior, a man of energy and ambition, and he allowed no obstacles to weigh with him where the power and prestige of the Papacy were concerned. He was also bent on obtaining from Bologna better terms than those with which his predecessor had been satisfied, and he knew well that Giovanni would be no party to "better terms." Giovanni therefore must be removed, and the Pope calmly bided his time till the propitious moment should be reached. There was at that moment besides a sense of trouble in the air that forebode evil. Nature herself seemed full of portents, and a series of appalling and fatal earthquakes shook Bologna to her very foundations on the last days of 1504, and in January, March and May of the following year. Many houses were overturned, many towers were hurled to the ground, many people were killed, more still were rendered homeless, and the town was turned into one vast house of prayer, sacred relics were carried

in lengthy processions, fastings and supplications were joined in by high and low, and earnest entreaties were offered up that God in His mercy would save the city. When finally the boon was granted and the earthquakes ceased, Bologna did not forget what "a joyful and pleasant thing it is to be thankful"; great services of thanksgiving were held, and at Giovanni II.'s command Francia and his four colleagues, Costa, Aspertini, Tamarocci and Chiodarolo, painted a series of lovely frescoes in the Chapel of Santa Cecilia, the little disused chapel adjoining S. Giacomo Maggiore; and Francia likewise painted the votive picture that now hangs in the Sala d'Ercole in the Palazzo Pubblico, known as the "Madonna del Terremoto."

The year following that of the earthquakes was the fateful year for the House of Bentivoglio. The Pope had completed his preparations, and he advanced swiftly to put them into execution. Negotiations were attempted by the Senate, but they failed, and some feeble military measures failed too. The city was placed under a ban. Giovanni was excommunicated, and seeing that his only safety lay in flight, he fled to Busseto, his wife accompanying him. The Pope entered Bologna as conqueror, but though he established the dominion of the Church to the exclusion of all other rulers, he did not exact undue concessions from the Senate, and when shortly after he left for Rome the citizens accepted the sovereignty he laid on them without any lingering regrets for the Bentivogli. Some of the followers of these latter made, however, an ill-timed attempt to bring about their restoration, which ended disastrously. Not only were the ringleaders put to death, but it was determined to destroy the magnificent Bentivoglio

Palace, and this wanton act of destruction was sanctioned by the Pope, his Legate and the Council of Forty. The building was accordingly set on fire on 3rd May, 1507, by a savage band of fanatics, and the treasures of art and value that perished in the flames will never be known. Thieving and pilfering went on unchecked, and rumour has it that Giovanni himself, or more probably some of his sons, managed to get many of their possessions out of the burning edifice and conveyed, by connivance of the general then in command of the French troops, to a place of safety.

The palace, which stood on a space of ground originally covered by sixteen houses, was only two stories high, but of immense width, with a frontage extremely ornate with columns, windows of highly decorated design, and a great turreted balustrade crowning the whole. There were no less than 244 rooms in the building, not counting "i gabinetti e gli altri luoghi minori," and "though it was built of brick it excelled in beauty the Medici Palace at Florence, and that of the Montefeltro at Urbino."[1] A corridor on the ground floor led to a peristyle leading out into five courtyards, to various "loggie," and again to the armouries, to the gardens adorned with statues and fountains, and to the stables, in one of which alone fifty horses could be stabled. The actual stables, though, were on the other side of the Via Zamboni, and a part of these still remain and are the sole vestige left of this once princely habitation. The architect of the palace was Pagno di Lapo Portigiani of Fiesole, and it has been calculated that the mere building cost 150,000 *scudi* or gold ducats, a sum that would run nowadays into some hundreds of

[1] L. Frati, *op. cit.*

millions of *lire*. The interior of the house was rich in paintings by Francia, Lorenzo Costa and other artists, while there were besides tapestries, brocades, velvets, and an innumerable amount of furniture, silver, miniatures, etc., that all alike perished, either burnt to cinders or crushed to atoms in the collapse of the walls. Too late the city magnates became aware of their criminal act, and ordered that the flames should be extinguished and the pilfering cease. But the evil was beyond their control, and the rabble after a month of robbery and destruction brought their wanton labours to an end, leaving nothing but a heap of charred bricks and rubble to mark where one of the proudest palaces in existence had once stood.

For 250 years this unsightly "waste" remained, giving its name to the little street hard by, the Via del Guasto, and it was not till 1756 that it was sold by the owner, the Marchese Guido Bentivoglio d'Aragona, to the Senate, while shortly after the Teatro Comunale was built on the site of the ruined palace.

To return, however, for a moment to Giovanni himself after he had fallen from power. The first attempt to restore his fortunes ended in failure, and to prevent any further attempts he was removed from Busseto and imprisoned in the Castello at Milan. Here he only stayed a short time, and on being set free he remained an exile at Milan, where he died all alone on 13th February, 1508. His wife, Ginevra, had died the previous year at Busseto, and against her and her sons many accusations have been laid—whether rightly or wrongly who can say?—of pride, extravagance and harshness to those she considered her foes, accusations which were all brought up against her and hers at the

time when their fortunes were declining. Her and Giovanni's son, Annibale, made many attempts to get back to power, and on one occasion when the people turned against Julius II., and broke in pieces his statue that had been cast by Michelangelo and set up over the chief entrance of S. Petronio, it seemed as though the Bentivogliesca star was again in the ascendant. But the triumph was transitory; the Church was all-powerful, and Annibale had no choice but to quit Bologna, where he never succeeded in returning as a ruler.

BAS-RELIEF OF GIOVANNI II. IN THE CHURCH OF S. GIACOMO MAGGIORE

CHAPTER IV

The University

THE light of learning was early lit in Bologna. From the moment when a new dawn was breaking over the world and ever since, for an uninterrupted period of 800 years, the great University has carried on its work of teaching.

No complete history as to its rise and first beginnings exists, a fact widely recognised and deplored by Italian writers, who, however, are striving in every way to make good the omission, and to provide material of the best kind from which to cast light on so important and interesting a subject.[1]

One thing alone is clear and positive, which is that this University preceded all the other Universities of Europe,[2] and that it differed from them alike in

[1] Two great works are being compiled — one in Italian, the other in Latin—treating of the University and its history. The one in Italian, *Studie e Memorie per la storia dell' Università di Bologna,* already consists of five volumes (the rest are in course of publication) and is a beautiful work of the "Cooperativa Tipografia Azzoguidi, presso la commissione per la storia dell' Università di Bologna." The one in Latin is a large 4to edition, entitled *Chartularium Studii bononiensis,* of which six volumes are already out, where the documents relating to "Lo Studio," whether from public or private archives, are given fully and in detail. Both these publications are proceeding apace.

[2] Rashdall questions this, for "three places in Italy," according to him, "have been especially claimed as Pre-Bolognese Schools of Law: Rome, Pavia and

its rise, and in the most marked period of its existence, by its absolutely democratic constitution and by its universal or catholic character. Its origin is held to have sprung from a school where grammar and rhetoric were taught, and which there is little doubt existed up to the tenth century. Towards the close of the twelfth century it began to be split up into distinct bodies, formed by the scholars of the different "Nations" who flocked to Bologna to profit by the opportunities offered them to learn the known arts at the hands of a series of great masters. "From Dante to Copernicus," to quote from Ricci, "from Petrarch to Giovanni Herrera, it may be said that the greater part of the most celebrated minds of the past centuries have studied and learnt at Bologna, or have taught there." [1]

The *Habita*, the decree promulgated by Frederick I. in 1158 at the Diet of Roncaglia, and largely drawn up by Bolognese jurists, was the basis on which scholastic legislation was founded in the

Ravenna." But as he admits that the claim of Rome "wants some confirmation," and says that both Pavia and Ravenna were at their height in the second half of the eleventh century, this hardly tallies with the claim which Bologna makes for the tenth century. (*Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*. Oxford, 1895.)

[1] Corrado Ricci, *I primordi dello Studio Bolognese*. Bologna, 1887. Rashdall adds his testimony to this when he says: "It was from the age of Irnerius, or at least very early in the century ushered in by his teaching, that men of mature age—men of good birth and good position—beneficed and dignified ecclesiastics, or sons of nobles—flocked from the remotest parts of Europe to the lecture rooms of Bologna. . . . No teacher perhaps in the whole history of Education had hitherto occupied quite so high a position in public estimation as the early Doctors of Bologna." *Op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 126.

Middle Ages, and it had, too, been drawn up in such a way as to favour particularly the class of jurists or lawyers (*Giuristi*), and still more in particular those of foreign nationalities. By this decree students living for years away from their homes and countries, and exposed to special dangers and difficulties, were protected and safeguarded in a way that international law, then barely in its infancy, could never possibly have done. This foreign element at Bologna was one of the marked characteristics of the University, and is one of the reasons that makes all relating to "Lo Studio" of European interest.[1] For here every nation had its given number of students, and each country in turn is under a deep obligation to those of its citizens who studied and learnt at Bologna, and brought home much of the light and learning that hailed from this town of Central Italy. Bologna, on the other hand, owed much to Ravenna. While Ravenna declined, Bologna went forward as a seat of learning, helped enormously by her geographical position, lying as she did between Romagna, the Marches, Tuscany, Lombardy and Venetia. Added to this, the learning that existed so pre-eminently in the town of Theodoric the Goth, enhanced as it was by Byzantine intercourse and culture, had its reflex in Bologna, and there flourished and developed when Ravenna, sunk among her marshes

[1] The name of "University" was not in vogue till the fifteenth century. In early times in Bologna it was known as "Studium Generale," and as "Studium Generale" or "Lo Studio" it has been spoken of and written about from the twelfth century down to present times. The correct rendering of "Studium Generale" is actually where students congregate and are received—not a place where all subjects are studied. See Rashdall, *op. cit.*, vol. i. chap. i. p. 7.

and swamps, became only a shadow of what she once had been.

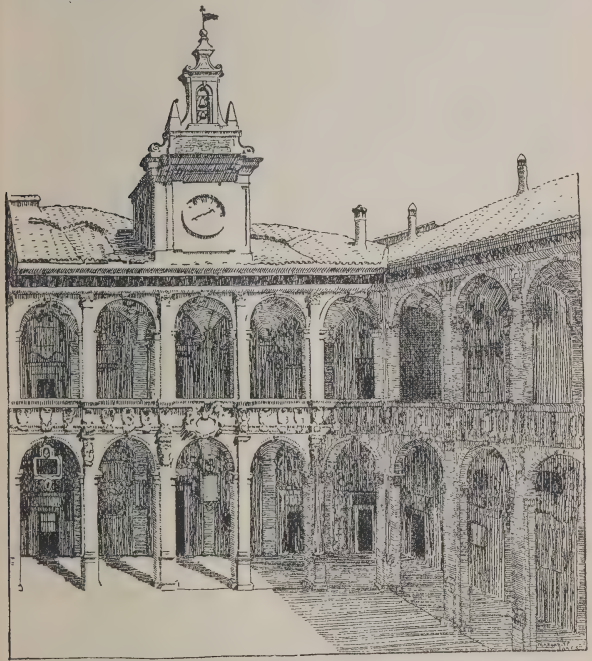
The earliest names to stand out among the jurists of Bologna, and to whom history has accorded the honour of starting the first schools, are Pepo and Irnerius. Pepo left a great reputation for his learning and influence, especially in Tuscany, late in the eleventh and early in the twelfth century, a reputation hardly endorsed by Odofredus (himself a great Bolognese scholar and citizen), who says of Pepo: "Quidquid fuerit da scientia sua nullius nominis fuit." [1]

Of Irnerius, or Wernerius, born in Bologna about 1050, it may fairly be claimed that he was a great and noble schoolmaster whose special subject was "Official Law" (*diritto a titolo ufficiale*), a subject that Bologna made peculiarly her own, and that enabled her after the Council of Guastalla (1106) to stand independently of Ravenna. This independence was further secured to her twelve years later when Henry V., in return for the support given him after the schism of 1118, conferred an Imperial Privilege on Bologna which enabled her to exercise full jurisprudence over the province of Emilia. And further benefits still accrued about this same time to the town in the transference from Ravenna of the books of Justinian's Pandects or Decrees.

The *Habita* alluded to on page 48, and drawn up in 1158 at the Diet of Roncaglia, owes much of its force and character to the school of Irnerius, for four of his pupils, Bulgaro, Jacopo, Martino and

[1] Ricci explains this away to some extent from an inedited *glossa* of Azzone's, where it is assumed that Pepo left no *written* works, which may account for the *nullius nominis fuit*.

Ugo, were concerned in the framing of this decree, which received the Imperial sanction and which might be called the *Magna Charta* of the University's laws and customs.



COURTYARD OF THE ARCHIGINNASIO, OR OLD UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA

In order to keep alive, as it were, this Imperial tradition, a fresh "Privilege" was called into being in the following century under the name of

Theodosius II., but the document, though given as authentic in a register dating as far back as 1257, is now held to be spurious, and though for ages it passed current as a "constitutional act" of "Lo Studio," modern criticism and investigation have pronounced it false and refuse it the position that some of its advocates still claim for it.

Side by side with the Imperial School of Civil Law—though politically opposed to it—there arose a School of Canon Law, the work of the monk Grazian,[1] who from the fixed canons of the Church drew up a line of conduct independent of theological principles, and who had followers and disciples of so numerous and influential an order as to bespeak widespread celebrity for this new school. The value of Grazian's work of the *Decretum* can be easily gauged when we consider the part this early "text-book" (as distinct from a "code") was bound to play in the development of University life, and the effect it exercised as much on the schools as on the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Popes also supported the *Decretum*, and had recourse to it in order to ensure a wider circulation for their decretals. Of the man himself little is known save that he was a Camaldolese Benedictine monk at S. Felice in Bologna, and it is surmised that he was a writer rather than a teacher.

The influx of foreigners to Bologna increased

[1] Dante scholars will remember the mention made of Grazian in the tenth canto of the *Paradiso*, v. 104, where the poet speaks of him as one who helped to blend civil and theological law so ably as to give pleasure in Paradise

"... che l'un a l'altro fôro
Aiutò sì che piaque in paradiso."

He lived and worked in Bologna about the year 1140, and probably spent a long time there.

as the University increased in fame, and these searchers after knowledge "divided themselves up," says Ricci, "in associations constituted on the basis of a common origin represented by a head elected by themselves and arranged as a Commune within a Commune" (*Universitates scholarum*).

Very great liberty was enjoyed by one and all the members. For though the scholars were subject to the laws and rules of "Lo Studio," these laws were after all largely drawn up by themselves, and were further safeguarded by privileges and immunities which the Commune not only respected but sought to augment in order to attract masters and pupils to their city, and to prevent them, once there, from leaving it.

From very early days the University was divided into two distinct bodies: the "Università degli Ultramontani"—"beyond the Mountains," or foreigners from lands other than Italy; and the "Università dei Citramontani"—"this side the Mountains," and composed entirely of Italians. Each of these in turn had its own head or Rector (*Rettores*), and was subdivided into so many "Nations." The rules and regulations relating to the working of these two separate and individual bodies were matters needing vast powers of organisation, besides any amount of tact and patience. The mere question as to whether the students should or should not elect their own Rectors, or indeed at one time be allowed to have one at all, was a subject of much controversy, and one that met with intense opposition from the Government of Bologna. For they saw in such a concession the likelihood of a body of students with their self-elected Rector breaking entirely away from the town and setting up elsewhere for themselves.

And indeed this was an occurrence that had already taken place, and in very early times too, for according to Rashdall (vol. ii. p. 736), the first secession was prior to 1182, when he tells us "Pillius retired to Modena from Bologna." Another secession was in 1215, when, dissensions having arisen among the scholars, a large number of them under Roffredo Bonaventano forsook Bologna altogether and set up for themselves at Arezzo. These migrations were not, however, of an abiding nature, nor did they affect the entire Studium, for the rulers of Bologna, thoroughly alive to the harm that would accrue in consequence to their town, made laws and rules to prevent such occurrences, and to keep scholars and masters alike in their midst.

The first actual Statutes of the two Universities, the Ultramontane and the Cismontane, were drawn up by the Rectors and students together in 1252, when all swore to observe them faithfully, and the following year Pope Innocent IV. approved and confirmed such Statutes by a Papal Brief dated January 1253. Up to then, however, and for a few years after, the Studium consisted of just the two law Universities, the Ultramontane and the Cismontane, while the third University, that of medicine and the arts, only came into being after a hard and bitter contest. For the jurists, or lawyers, were fierce opponents of the "Medici" and "Artisti," these latter consisting of students of letters, philosophy and mathematics, and frustrated by every means in their power their endeavour to have a University of their own or to elect their own Rector.

The strife and hatred that then raged between the "Legisti" (lawyers) and the "Artisti" (doctors of medicine and other arts) was such as to rival the Guelphs and Ghibellines of a later date, and

the Fascisti and Socialists of to-day! The jurists (*Giuristi* or *Legisti*) strove hard to keep all privileges and prerogatives exclusively to themselves, and refused to allow that the "Artisti" should be able in any way to cultivate their special sciences or have any standing of their own. For years they fought with this intent, and strained every nerve to keep any University but their own from existing. The "Artisti," as can well be imagined, bitterly resented this attitude of the "Legisti," and refused to give way. A concession granted by the Commune of Bologna to one Taddeo di Alderotto, a famous doctor of medicine in 1288, helped their cause considerably, for by it the doctor and his pupils were given the privileges till then only conceded to the law-doctors. This concession, however, only accentuated the quarrel, which was carried on right into the next century, when the "Artisti," though never for long, were occasionally the victors. It was not till 1316 that an agreement was reached: the University of Medicine was recognised, its privileges being guaranteed by the governing bodies both of the town and the "Studio," while it was allowed at the same time to nominate its own Rector. All the same it was long before this younger University acquired a standing and influence equal to that of the older ones, while the ill effects of the dissensions lasted for years. For though the oppressed "Artisti" had gained their point, their former adversaries held them in ill-concealed contempt (a contempt often hotly returned) and considered themselves their superiors in every way.

The headquarters, so to speak, of the University changed as times and circumstances changed, and only the faintest traces exist as to where the actual "seat of learning" had its "seat" in those early

days. It is said to have been first at S. Salvadore, which is claimed to have been quite the oldest part of the city, and from here it moved to where the Church of S. Procolo now stands.

It was here that on 11th March, 1265, the law was passed as to a Rector being chosen from each of the foreign or Ultramontane "Nations," those "Nations" at that moment numbering fourteen, and being entered in the following order: Gaul, Picardy, Burgundy, Poitou, Touraine and Maine, Normandy, Catalonia, Hungary, Poland, Germany (*Teothonici*), Spain, Provence, England, Gascony.

In this gathering of the "Nations" the Gascons, together with those of Poitou, had two Councillors in the University and two votes in the nomination of the Rectors. Such was the construction of the Ultramontane University in 1265, and such with but slight modifications it continued for about two centuries. In 1432 the "Nations," however, had increased to sixteen, and their order on the Statute Roll was as follows: France, Portugal and Algarve, Provence, England, Burgundy, Savoy, Gascony and Auvergne, Berry and Touraine, Aragon and Catalonia, with Valencia and the Majorcas (two Councillors), Navarre, Germany (two Councillors), Poland, Bohemia and Flanders. Each of these had their Councillor in the University, except the German "Nation" and those of Aragon and Catalonia, who had two.[1]

[1] Even in those days it is curious to note how Germany aimed at, *and* succeeded in gaining, the supremacy over the other "Nations." She is spoken of by past and present writers as "specially privileged," and apart from what she gained for herself and the advantages that accrued to her from the frequent presence in Italy of the Emperors of Germany, it cannot be denied that she made good use of the privileges. Her

The Cismontane University consisted of but three "Nations," the Roman, the Tuscan, and the Lombard, and these were again subdivided: the Roman formed six "Nations," *i.e.* from Rome, the Abruzzi, the Terra del Lavoro, Puglia, Calabria, the Upper and Lower Marches, and Sicily. The Tuscans had the same number: Florentines, Pisans, those of Lucca, Siena, the old Duchy of Ravenna, and the Venetians. The Lombard "Nation," again, comprised five: the Genoese, the Milanese, those of Emilia including Parma, Piacenza, Modena and Reggio, which all ranked under the head of "Tessalonici," the Lombards, and the "Celestini," by which were classed the students of Asti, Alba, Acqui and Turin. Each of these seventeen "Nations" had the right to nominate a Councillor except the Sicilians and Romans, who, like the Germans, might each elect two, and of the latter one, when it was possible, had to be *civis romanus*.

As has been said, the locality or localities where the lessons were given is not easy to determine. It is only in the fourteenth century that we can gather—and that but vaguely—where the lecturers spoke and where their audience listened. Among the old documents are to be found contracts which allude to the sale or hire of certain rooms or halls for such purposes, and many old wills exist in which the testator bequeaths buildings or houses to be devoted to the purpose. There can be little doubt that many monasteries and convents—those old

archives and records on all that relates to the University are models of precision and detail, and while other "Nations" lost much of their importance and autonomy Germany preserved hers intact. She always possessed two *consiliarii*, and invariably made the most of every opportunity that came her way.

repositories of stored and hidden learning—lent the shelter of their walls to lecturers and listeners, and that many a "school" had its rise under the shadow of some church. The public squares or piazzas were also frequently used by the Professors for their addresses, and it was in the Square of S. Domenico (where the "Studio" removed after its sojourn at S. Procolo) that St. Francis lectured to such effect that two of the scholars, moved by his eloquence and asceticism, tore off their rich apparel, which they "flung to the nettles and donned the rough tunic of Poverty."

To the perplexity of providing the needed spaces for lectures was added that of supplying books to the scholars, as well as the porters and carriers who were needed to convey the bulky and ponderous tomes that books were in those days, to and from the schools. All these problems were hard to solve, seeing the number of students ran from six to seven thousand, a number by no means infrequent in those days and that speaks well for the thirst for knowledge then abroad in the world.

A person of great weight and influence in such matters was the Rector, the man who, as has been said, was elected from each "Nation," and whose office lasted for a year. He again was supported by one or two Councillors, also chosen from each "Nation," and together they appointed the Readers, arranging—and that liberally—for their expenses, and their line of conduct; providing the necessary books (these were to be bought for possession or use, or to be had on loan from the "Stazionarii"); and also exercising civil jurisdiction over the disputes that arose among the members of the University, and even — though to a limited extent — possessing

criminal jurisdiction in some cases of minor offences. They had also to do with the Magistrates of the Commune whenever any member of the University came in contact, whether for lawsuits or for other dealings, with these functionaries.

The junior University, the *Universitas Artistarum*, was for Ultramontanes and Cismontanes alike, and was divided into four "Nations" only: Ultramontanes, Lombards, Tuscans and Romans.

The character and importance of the Rector in the life of the University is such as to warrant some special notice of his nomination and office, and some detail as to his work. He was in very deed a leading personage, and around him centred most of the collegiate questions of the day, especially those that concerned the students. His election was effected by the chief Beadle summoning the lawyers of the Cismontane University to the monastery of the Dominican Friars, where the electors known as the "Aggiunti," and appointed by the Councillors, submitted the names of those whom they considered eligible to the vote, and he who secured the greatest number was elected, the former Rector solemnly announcing the choice made.[1]

Should the chosen candidate refuse the office (the sole cause recognised for so doing being that he intended leaving "Lo Studio"—a course of action liable to punishment should he do so for no lawful reason) the University was convened anew on the same day, or the day following the one on which

[1] There was, too, another form of election known as that of "doppio grado," which was in use from 1317 to 1347, and which differed but slightly from the one described. The "Artisti" adopted the form of the "double degree" when electing their Rector.

the refusal was announced, and the scholar who was second on the list as to number of votes was elected, or, failing him, the third. The office of Rector was held annually by both "lawyers" and "artists" for a long while. A decree "more honoured in the breach than in the observance" was that no Rector should fill the office twice; for not only were they re-elected in both Universities, but sometimes a Rector remained in office for two and even three years. The rules and details relating to the nominations of Vice-Rectors, Priors and Presidents were many and intricate, and are lengthily set forth by Italian writers. This is hardly the place or moment to enumerate them minutely, suffice it to say that they show an organisation and elaboration in all that concerned the workings of the great Universities as complicated and careful as they were conscientious and complete.

The life or existence, so to speak, of the Universities may be divided into two "stadii" or epochs: the earliest from the first half of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth when the Rectors (who were elected by the students), while maintaining former traditions, created a kind of republic, having its own head, its own laws, and a special jurisdiction. This underwent a marked change early in the seventeenth century, when the Papal Legates, representing the Popes, waged war against the older institution so persistently and so cleverly that it had no choice but to go under, and in 1604 the "old order" changed never to return again.

In the first phase, however, the position, the powers, the rights of the Rectors were almost unlimited. The chief of their privileges was without doubt the civil and criminal jurisdiction which they

held and exercised over everyone within their University. No Bolognese, nor others who were not scholars, might summon the students before any tribunal save that of the Rector, who was bound to sit twice a week *pro tribunali*. From the Rector's sentence appeal could be made to the Councillors of the University, and from their sentences (and only then for given motives) might another Rector be appealed to.

The Rector's office brought with it, however, such enormous expenses that it was a post by no means in request—few, indeed, could afford it. To compensate those who could be prevailed on to fill it many privileges were conceded, together with many advantages, especially of a pecuniary nature. Among the first was the right of precedence over almost all others in authority. The jealous way in which the Rectors held to this can be testified to in the following incident which occurred towards the end of the fifteenth century. Slightly before the year 1492 one of the Rectors, out of deference to the Duke of Milan, had ceded his place to the Resident, the Duke's representative in Bologna. One George Newdeck, an Austrian, and at the moment Rector of the Ultramontane University, resolved—in order to uphold the rights and dignity of the University—to put a stop to this innovation. He applied, but in vain, to the Senate of Bologna for a restitution of the Rector's rights, whereupon the German "Nation," to whom Newdeck belonged, despatched their envoy to the Duke at Milan, who replied with a truly courteous letter, 27th June, 1491, in which he desired his Resident to abstain from taking the place of honour. Before the German emissary returned, however, the Rector, coming out from Vespers at S. Domenico, met the Resident,

one Francesco Tancredini, who refused to give Newdeck the precedence he claimed. A tumult immediately ensued. Tancredini was flung into the street, a crowd gathered, fisticuffs and arms were freely used; the alarm bell was sounded, the city gates closed, and Tancredini, backed by Giovanni II. Bentivoglio, succeeded in having the Rector expelled from Bologna. Newdeck was escorted out of the town with demonstrations of affection and sympathy from professors and students alike, and was warmly welcomed by his "dear friends" Lodovico and Girolamo da San Pietro at their villa at Casalecchio. Meanwhile in Bologna the students banded together and swore to leave the town should their Rector not be restored to them. Before such a threat the Senate had no choice but to give way, and Newdeck was recalled to the "Studio." He was received with "extraordinary exultation" at Porta Saragozza by professors, nobles, magnates and the students, to the sound of trumpets and drums, followed by an imposing cortège of 450 horse and a vast concourse of people. This incident, which shows the affection felt by the people of Bologna for their University, induced Pope Innocent VIII., with a Brief dated 8th July, 1492, to decree that the Rector of the Jurists should have the place of honour immediately after the Papal Legate, the Bishop, and the Gonfalonier of Justice.

The titles of the Rectors also gained in verbosity and pompousness as the years went on, for whereas in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the simple prefix of *Dominus* or *Rettores* had sufficed, it was soon to be followed by that of *Dignissimus*. Early in the Cinquecento the Rector and Vice-Rector (lawyers and artists equally) added *Magnifici* and

went on to *Magnificus*, and from that to *Illustri* and *Illustrissimus*, when they left off.

The right to carry arms was one not lightly granted to the Rectors, but they succeeded finally in obtaining this privilege. They had also free access to the Podestà, the Captain, the Executor of Justice, the Judges, and, in short, to all in authority for everything relating to the scholars. Their privileges in matters financial were first and foremost exemption from all taxes affecting their own degrees and examinations. Their salaries up to the middle of the sixteenth century were 100 *lire* a year for the Rector of each University; in 1555 the Rector of the "Giuristi" received 400 *lire*, the Rector of the "Artisti" 300 *lire*. In 1564 the former was raised to 500 *lire*, the latter to 400 *lire*; and in 1580 the Rectors of both Universities, lawyers and artists alike, each received 900 *lire*.[1]

Over and above these fixed salaries paid to the Rectors there were other sums that sooner or later came their way besides. For the scholars were obliged to pay a tax to their masters for the instruction given, for the use of the benches, and, when necessary, for the hire of the site. The "Dottori" on their side again were obliged every year before the studies began to see to the repair of the localities and the windows — our modern dilapidations, in short—under pain of a fine.

The expenses devolving on the Rectors were

[1] In these days when the depreciation of all monies makes it difficult to calculate the exact currency in any one country, it is almost futile to set down the stipends once paid to the professors of old. These figures, however, are given for what they may be worth, while bearing in mind all the time that they must be multiplied at least three or four times over to bring them within appreciable distance of their present value.

also excessive and crippling. They had to offer sumptuous repasts at the moment of their appointment; they had to provide jousts and tournaments during their term of office, when the liveries for the band—let alone the clothes that had to be provided for the wrestlers—and the prizes that had to be distributed broadcast were enough to reduce most of them to ruin. It was a heavy drain on the Rectorship, and prevented many a good man from accepting an office which he could only fill at the loss of his fortune or his credit. After the second half of the sixteenth century, indeed, the matter was so serious, owing to the lack of candidates for the post, that the very existence of the office was in jeopardy. And indeed from 1547, and intermittently till 1603, no Rectors were forthcoming, and both lawyers and artists had simply to do without.

In 1604, however, there was a brilliant revival, for a young and extremely wealthy Genoese, Abate Gian Domenico Spinola, came forward and offered to revive the office that had then laid dormant thirty years. The announcement was hailed with enthusiasm by the scholars, and on 3rd January, 1604, the ceremonies began amid wild demonstrations of joy. For three days the new Rector was carried in triumph through the town on the shoulders of the Councillors of the "Nations," amid the acclamations of the populace, the blowing of trumpets and the ringing of bells. And he in his turn, and with "much swagger," for three days threw money to the crowd, first along the streets, and then from his house. On 6th January he was recognised as Rector also by the students of Theology, Medicine and Liberal Arts, and assumed in consequence the title of "Rettore Generale dello Studio." On 1st February he went with much

solemnity to assume the "hood" or *cappuccio* (the distinguishing mark of a Rector) in the Church of S. Domenico, where a choral Mass was sung and, in the words of an old MS., "he was crowned by the hand of Mons: Ill: et Rev: Marsilio Landriani" (Vice-Legate of Bologna) with much pomp and majesty and heavy outlay of the said gentleman, who had to present to all the Councillors of the Nations, and they were seventy-two in number, a pair of silken hose and a sash of green taffetas and gold lace.[1]

From his house in Via S. Mamolo he proceeded to S. Domenico, the procession being headed by a banner (*palio*) of black and gold brocatelle, followed by the seventy-two Councillors, the Beadles, the Notaries, the Rector's pages, these all dressed by him in new liveries; his Master of the Horse, his Secretary and menservants, all clad in black embroidered velvet. After came the Vice-Apostolic Legate, having the Rector on his right hand and the Gonfalonier of Justice on his left; behind them the Podestà with the Auditor of the Rolls, and the Senators. A student dressed in black velvet embroidered in gold carried the hood, which—according to the diarist Aldrovandi—"used to be worn by former Rectors of gold brocade, whereas this was of velvet all embroidered with gold and silver." In the afternoon the "Pallio" (or races) should have been run as of old in the Via delle Lemme, but owing to inclement weather this had to be put off till February 3rd.

Spinola's rectorship lasted barely a year, but in that time he filled the office as his predecessors had done before him, in conferring degrees, issuing

[1] *Bibl. della R. Universita di Bologna,* MSS. N. 125—fasc. 32.

decrees, and maintaining the best traditions of the past. It was but a flash, however, for after him the "Studio" had no more Rectors under the Bolognese rule, and the power once possessed by these dignified officials fell gradually into the hands of the Papal Legates. These dignitaries had striven for a long while to establish their rule alike over Rectors and students, and now that the Rectors were no more the students had to maintain the struggle unaided, and with no recognised head to uphold their rights. The Legates had been set on asserting the supremacy of the Church ever since the Bolognese had placed the keeping of their city into Papal hands; they had no intention of allowing "a state within a state"; and they even encouraged brawls between their own hired assassins and the students, so as to bring these latter into disrepute and make them unpopular in the town. To protect themselves the students elected to place themselves under someone high in office, and generally chose for that purpose a Cardinal. It often happened that the Legates were also Cardinals, and this came about in 1742 when Cardinal Alberoni (as proud and ambitious a prelate as ever existed) appears on the Rolls as "Legato di Bologna e Rettore dello Studio," a title that many of his successors also assumed and that we find borne in turn by Cardinals Doria, Spinola, Pallavicini-Colonna-Branciforti, and Buoncompagni.

The dignity of Legate in connection with the University came to an end in 1796, when on June the 18th and 19th the French army, with General Bonaparte at its head, entered Bologna. Bonaparte dismissed the Legate the following day, and declaring Bologna no longer a Papal city, restored her to her former state of liberty, vesting for

the time being all power, whether legislative or political, in the Senate.

From the year 1604 when, as has been said, the Rectorship actually ceased — for the efforts to revive it later were merely sporadic—to the close of the Bolognese Government (which in its turn gave place to the Cispadana [1] Republic) the place of the Rectors was taken for a short time by the Priors, who in their turn were elected by the students. But the Papal Legates ousted them again, while subsequent changes and restrictions contributed to the alteration of the form and character of the University, gradually but surely depriving it of the characteristics and individuality that had given such distinction and dignity to its earlier existence. Under that earlier form, according to Malagola,[2] the number between Rectors and Vice-Rectors was 464, of whom 108 were Ultramontanes; 108 were "Citramontani di Leggi"; 103 were *Utriusque Universitates*; and 145 were of the University of Medicine and the Arts. Among the Ultramontane Rectors the larger number hailed from Germany and Spain; next in order came French, English, Poles, Dutch, Belgians, Hungarians, Austrians and Portuguese. Last of all came Russians, Bohemians, Swiss, Tyrolese and Greeks.

Of the Citramontane Rectors the greater number came from the Emilia and Romagna; a lesser number from Tuscany, Lombardy, Naples and Sicily; fewer again from the Marches and Umbria, from Piedmont, the Veneto and Rome, and the fewest of all from Liguria.

[1] South of the Po.

[2] Carlo, Malagola, *I Rettori nell' antico Studio e nella moderna Università di Bologna*, 1888.

The dress of the Bolognese Rectors in early times differed in no way from that of the students; their only distinction lay in the hood being lined with squirrel fur, and the cap such as we see it on the bas-reliefs of tombs preserved in the Museo Civico, and as shown opposite p. 112. Another feature of their dress was the cape ("cappa, sed tabardum") that reached down back and front, and was folded at the back of the neck rather like a hood. This cape originally was of red cloth; the hood of gold brocade or, as we saw in Spinola's case, of velvet richly embroidered with gold and silver. In later times the Rectors and Professors were dressed much alike, the Rectors being distinguished by a gold chain from which hung a gold pendant with the emblem of the Republic on one side and on the other a Pallas, around which was the epigraph, "Ætheream Servate Deum = Servabitis Urbem."

A certain amount of light is thrown on the life of the University by the numerous lawsuits which were constantly springing up either among the students themselves or between some of their professors. Insults were then freely bandied about accompanied by acts of violence, and many unseemly quarrels, all of which generally occurred within or close to the school precincts. The name of the place is invariably given in these lawsuits with the object of localising the scene of action, or to indicate the spot where the officer of law (generally the "Nuncio del Popolo") had run the offender to ground. In most cases these documents also give the name of the Professor who had been lecturing at the time of the riot, so as to omit no detail that would further the carrying out of discipline and justice.

It was necessary in those early days of University

life to apportion different districts in the city to the different bodies into which the "Giuristi" and "Artisti" were split up, and to house them at sufficiently safe distances from one another. The "Giuristi" or "Legisti" took up their quarters in and around S. Procolo, while the "Artisti" chose the region of Porta Nova, though Count Cavazza in his learned work [1] says that these districts were by no means strictly adhered to by either of the two parties, and that scholars of both orders wandered now and again into the adversary's camp. This was especially the case with the "Giuristi," who were only too ready to break their own bounds and invade those of the "Artisti." In the end, however, the latter remained masters of the field at S. Procolo, and possessed those quarters for centuries unmolested and undisturbed.

Regarding the "Artisti," it must be remembered that many other arts and schools were comprised in that name; one of the principal being Medicine and Surgery—in their way surely as important as Law—and these, according to Cavazza, flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century, though he adds that he personally had not found any documents relating to such schools earlier than 1285. Philosophy and Theology followed in their wake, to be succeeded by Poetry, Astronomy, Logic, Rhetoric and "Ars Notaria," though this Art of the Notaries was transferred to the "Studio dei Legisti" after 1357.

In 1571 a new chair (*cattedra*) of Anatomy was added to the ancient one of Medicine, and became in conjunction with Surgery (with which originally it was synonymous) of wide-spread celebrity. The

[1] Conte Francesco Cavazza, *Le Scuole dell' Antico Studio Bolognese*. Hoepli, Milano, 1896.

titles of these chairs kept swelling as one "art" after another joined the ranks, till from that of *simplicibus*, which they bore in 1537, they arrived in 1581 to the high-sounding, bombastic one of *ad philosophiam naturalem ordinariam* (*de fossilibus, de plantis, de animalibus*); or, in fact, to all that concerned geology, mineralogy, botany and zoology. In the eighteenth century a chair *ad operationes chirurgicas*, of *litotomia*, of *oftalmia* was included, and later still one for veterinary art, and one for inoculation.

Philosophy, as has been said, came under the heading of "Artisti," and though little is said to have been known concerning it during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the fact remains that the Emperor Frederick II. presented Aristotle's translations to the professors of Bologna in the early half of the thirteenth century, a gift which would never have been made had there not been such a school, and one, too, that claimed a certain standing.

Side by side with the School of Philosophy existed those of Metaphysics and Theology, this latter with ramifications and subdivisions that began in the year 1388 and were carried on till 1795. This Theological School was famous from very early times, for as a modern writer tells us: "It is worthy of note that as early as 1246 the Theological School of the Friars Minor at Bologna had established so high a reputation that on the 26th of March of that year Innocent IV. awarded its students the same privileges as were enjoyed by those of the first University of Paris." [1]

Poetry, Rhetoric and the Humanities claimed

[1] Canon Lonsdale Ragg, B.D., *Dante and his Italy*, p. 96.

kinship with the "Artisti," and some writers go so far as to assert that the Italian School of Poetry originated in Bologna and was even prior to that of Palermo. The theory is not an impossible one, seeing that Guido Guinicelli, the best of Italian poets before Dante, whom Dante praises unstintingly in the *Purgatorio*,[1] was a native of Bologna, that he flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century, and that he was the initiator of the "dolce stil Nuovo," which was to revolutionise modern poetry in Italy.

To enumerate the lesser chairs—Oriental languages, Geometry, Mathematics and others—that came into being, existed for a while, and then disappeared, would overtax the patience of the reader, while to attempt a list of the professors and students who were pre-eminent among their fellows would be tedious. On the other hand, it may be well just to touch lightly on the leaders of the scholastic movement who laid the foundations of the great University, and whose renown is linked with its earliest beginning.

Of these, Pepo and Irnerius, of whom mention has already been made, were the foremost pioneers, the heralds of a long race of great and learned masters, and from whom (according to Ricci) date the first memories of a great story. Pepo taught in 1076, and Irnerius soon after 1090 (his

[1] Dante in his *De Vulgari Eloquentia* speaks of Guido Guinicelli as the greatest of the Bolognese poets; he alludes to him in the *Vita Nuova*, in the *Convivio*, and in one of his *Canzoni*, and devotes several lines to him in the *Purgatorio* (canto xxvi. v. 92, *et seq.*), calling him his father (in poesy), and rejoicing unfeignedly at their meeting—a scene that has been well described as "one of the most beautiful and moving in literature."—Ragg, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

birth has been placed at about 1060, and his death about 1125). It will surprise no one to hear that Irnerius has been claimed by Germany as having been German not Italian, and that his name was rightly "Wernerius." The claim has not been made good, however, and Irnerius remains to all time, as his surname indicates, "de Bononia" or "Bononiensis." It can also be asserted that he was the founder of that organisation of legal education which originated under him at Bologna, and which in Rashdall's[1] words "has to a great extent descended to modern Universities."

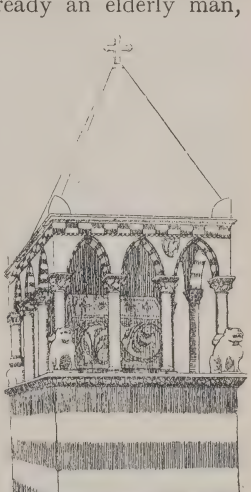
Irnerius's advice was often sought by the Countess Matilda; the Emperor Henry V. took him to Rome in the capacity of jurist, and his notes or "glosses" are remarkable alike for elegance and erudition. From his school came Bulgaro, Martino, Ugo and Jacopo da Porta Ravegnana, the four learned Law-doctors who played so important a part in the Diet of Roncaglia (1158), and who first spread abroad the fame of Bologna as a centre of learning and legal studies. Little is known of these pupils of Irnerius, save that Bulgaro died in extreme old age, presumably about 1167; that Martino and Ugo flourished in and after 1140, and that Jacopo died a very old man in 1178.

Another of these famous early masters was Azzone, who lectured repeatedly in the public piazzas, and whose wisdom and learning caused him to be spoken of as *fons legum, vas electionis, lucerna juris.* Others were Placentino, who extended his lectures to Montpellier in France, and Vacario, who is said to have gone as far as Oxford.

Among the greatest of these early Glossologists

[1] Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.* Oxford, 1895.

was without doubt Accursius, a pupil of Azzone's, the author of the *Glossa* or Commentary of the Code of Justinian, who came, already an elderly man, from Florence (he was born at Bagnolo) in 1188 to lecture at Bologna. He soon drew to himself a host of scholars, and added to his vast wealth by lending money at a high rate of usury to the luckless youths who borrowed of him. He was so rich that, besides purchasing a villa and lands outside the town, he also bought a fine turreted palace in the Public Square, known to this day as "Palazzo d'Accursio," which together with the Palazzo delle Biade (where grain was wont to be stored) forms the Palazzo Comunale.



GLOSSOLOGIST'S TOMB AT S. FRANCESCO

He died before the year 1250, and his tomb, the first of the three famous "Tombe dei Glossatori" to be built outside the Church of S. Francesco, was erected by his son Francesco, himself a jurist of note, who taught in his father's lifetime and—it may be presumed—in his father's house. Francesco d'Accursi is mentioned—not in an honourable way—by Dante in the *Inferno* (canto xv., v. 110), and he claims the interest of English readers in that Edward I. on his return from the Crusades

in 1273 persuaded him to accompany him to England, which according to Dr. Paget Toynbee (*Dante Dictionary*, s.v. Accorso) he did, and lectured for some time at Oxford. Here "he was provided with free quarters in the King's Manor, *i.e.* Beaumont Palace, the traditional birthplace of Richard Cœur de Lion. . . . He returned to Bologna in 1281, enriched by the munificence of the King of England, and died there in 1293." [1]

Another great man was Odofredus, an eminent lawyer much renowned as a citizen and statesman, and often entrusted by the Commune of Bologna with matters relating to the drawing up of treaties, the forming of alliances, and other affairs of State. It is said that he rented one of his houses to a bookbinder solely for the convenience of his pupils, and his care and affection for them showed itself in an infinity of ways, especially in setting his face sternly against the practice of advancing them money upon usury, a practice only too common among the masters, and from which, as has been seen, even so big a man as Accursius was not exempt. Odofredus was ready to lend books to the more needy of his scholars, and because of his benevolence to the youths of his day and his renown as a teacher, his halls were thronged, his fame spread far and wide, and his riches increased, in spite of his declaration that the students were "bad payers, ready, indeed, to learn from everyone and at the same time to pay no one!" His memory, like that of Accursius, is secured to all time in the beautiful monument set up to him outside the Church of S. Francesco which is shown in the drawing on

[1] Honble. William Warren Vernon, *Readings on the "Inferno,"* vol. i. p. 565, second edition. Methuen, London.

p. 73. He had a son Alberto, likewise a lawyer, who, though not so famous in that respect as his father, excelled him as a statesman.

A very long list might be drawn up of the famous jurists of Bologna following on those already mentioned, and many such are to be found in the archives and histories of the town. For the present purpose it may suffice to name only those of special pre-eminence, such as Bartolommeo da Saliceto, the author of a very celebrated commentary on the *Codex*, who died in 1412; Alessandro Tartagni, who lies in a most lovely tomb at S. Domenico (1477); Filippo Beroaldo, a noted "Rector" and poet who flourished at the end of this same century and taught not only at Bologna but at Parma, Milan and Paris, whose learning and wisdom were such as to earn for him the title of "the Emporium of the Sciences"; Andrea Barbazza, who died in 1479, amongst whose pupils were Roderigo Borgia, afterwards famous (or infamous) as Pope Alexander VI.; and Francesco Accolti, better known as L'Aretino, who died in 1486.

More interesting, however, than the recital of these names is a study of the monuments which represent different masters with their pupils ranged on either side, testifying either by their attitude, the turn of their head, or the diligence of their writing, their keen attention and interest in their studies. The master is often represented as three or four times larger than his pupils, to show his superiority and how far bigger he is than they are in every way. These monuments, consisting of a series of bas-reliefs, have been brought from the various churches where these masters were buried, and will repay minute and careful study, for they are full of character and charm, and recall past days of

instruction given and received in a remarkable and most attractive way.

The monuments are now preserved in the Museo Civico, and include the most noted schools of a very early period, the earliest among them being that of Rolandino Passaggeri, a famous notary, who died in 1300 and was buried in S. Domenico. A fine monument to him stands outside the church recalling the pyramidal type of the tombs of the Glossologists outside S. Francesco, though this one to Passaggeri was the last of that type to be built.

Afterwards we find a totally different kind of monument, when bas-reliefs in quaint and forcible carving depict the professor in the centre, reading or expounding to his scholars ranged on either side of him, and who are generally squatting on low and most uncomfortable benches. This type which was in vogue in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is also to be found in the sixteenth century (as late as 1542), and shows through all the three centuries similar treatment of subject, similar dress of students, and similar architectural detail. This form of monument is not often found out of Bologna, where no less than seventeen of these sepulchral memorials exist, and Cavazza, who says he has searched high and low for the same kind of tomb, has only found nine scattered here and there in Italy and is not aware of any existing in other lands. He records that it was an old custom in Bologna to honour professors with costly tombs, a custom maintained as time went on, of which examples can be seen to the present day in the squares, churches, and museums of the city.[1]

A more detailed account of these tombs will be given when treating of the Museo Civico, but a list

[1] Cavazza, *op. cit.*, pt. v. chap. ii.

of them may be of interest here as showing the dates and names of those professors and their schools who were thus specially honoured: Luccio de' Luzzi, a renowned medical man in 1318; Bartoluzzo de' Preti, a lawyer who died in 1318; Michele Bartalia, a physician, died in 1328; Matteo Gandoni, lawyer, died 1330; Bonandrea de' Bonandrei, doctor of Canon Law, died 1333; Pietro Ceruiti, died 1338; Bonifazio de' Galluzzi and Giovanni d'Andrea, both doctors of Canon Law, who died, the former in 1346, the latter in 1348; Giovanni da Legnano, doctor of Canon Law, died in 1383; Roberto and Ricardo da Saliceto, lawyers, died in 1403; Bartolomeo da Saliceto, another lawyer, died in 1412; Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio, doctor of Law, died 1435; Nicolò Fava, physician, died in 1438; Pietro de' Canonici, lawyer, died 1502; Lorenzo Pini, Rector of Decretals, who died in 1542.

Another list may be added to the foregoing as of interest to English readers, in that here are recorded—and set down exactly as they are entered in the "Rolls"—the names of the British Rectors and scholars who studied or taught at Bologna in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries:

1265 Henricus de Anglia.
1287 Johannes Guillelmi de Moisiaco Canturiensis. Rec. Ultramontanorum.
1289 Balduvinus (Baldwin?).
1346–47 Gilbertus de Yarovalles de Anglia.
1388 Ricardus de Anglia, honorabilis Rector dominorum Ultramontanorum.
1397 D. Guglielmus Hull-Anglicus. Rec. Ultramontanorum.
1422–23 D. Guglielmus, Archidiaconus Canturiensis de Anglia. Rector Ultramontanorum Studj bononiensis.

1448–49 Joannes Aleys de Anglia R. Ultramontanorum.
1457–58 D. Martus Morer. Scottus. R.U.
1481–82 D. Joannes Ans de Anglia, Ultriusque Universitatis Rector.
1484–85 D. Magister Gualterus Ricardi de Lacijs de Anglia. Artistarum et Medicorum Rector.
1486–87 G. Balce de Scotia Ultra. et Cis. Rector.
1488–89 D. Thomas Alcok, vel Abitz de Anglia, Ultra. et Cis. Rector.
1492–93 D. Guglielmus Gualtier de Vualia Anglicus. R. Ultra.

These one and all lectured, taught and had their "schools" or colleges in different and scattered parts of the town, for it was not till well on in the sixteenth century that a fixed and central building arose as the actual University of Bologna. The idea of gathering into one these various schools or halls (what we should call "colleges"), till then scattered throughout the town, and of finding or erecting a building to contain them, originated in 1560 with Pietro Donato Cesi, Vice-Legate of the town and Bishop of Narni. His scheme did not find favour with the citizens. They objected on the score of expense, and because the site chosen would interfere with the original plan for the completion of the Church of S. Petronio. Cesi, however, was not to be gainsaid, nor was he alone in his views. He had the support of the Pope, Pius IV., and of Carlo Borromeo, the Pope's nephew, whom the Pope had appointed Legate of Bologna. The governing bodies of the town were not able to make head against men of such influence and standing, and they had besides in Cesi a man of

indomitable will and who would brook no opposition to that will. After two years of wrangling and discussion Cesi got his way. The works were begun in February 1562, and the required money was also forthcoming, the largest part being provided by the Office of Taxes (*Grossa Gabella*), the rest by the doctors of the Guild of Notaries.

This building, known at first as the "Palazzo delle Nuove Scuole," which soon took on the name of "Archiginnasio," was at first a long colonnade, flanked on one side by the Ospedale della Morte, and on the other side by the Museo Civico. The architect was Antonio Morandi, surnamed "Il Terribilia," and in the incredibly short time of one year and ten months the edifice was complete and fit to contain within its walls all the schools and colleges which had formed " Lo Studio Bolognese." Here the University remained and flourished till the time of the French occupation. In 1803 Napoleon decided on a readjustment of the city's various institutions and the University was moved to its present site in the Via Zamboni, and thirty-six years later the Archiginnasio, after passing through many vicissitudes, was converted to its present use as the "Biblioteca Comunale" of Bologna.

To dwell only on the part played by men in the University and to omit that taken by women would not be in keeping with the traditions of the great "Studio," where women were accorded the same terms as those granted to men, and where from the Middle Ages down to present times women have held professorships and filled academical chairs with proficiency and distinction. The first in this order was Bitisia, a daughter of the noble house of Gozzadini, who was born in 1209,

and graduated in both civil and canon law. A century later came the two daughters of Giovanni Andrea Calderini, himself an eminent lawyer, who were quite equal to filling their father's chair when his many duties at foreign courts took him away from Bologna. The Calderini home was a learned one, for the mother was a "Dottoressa di diritto," and the girls, Novella and Bettina by name, were grounded early in all legal matters. Novella, it is said, was so beautiful that she had always to lecture with a thick veil over her face to prevent her pupils from gazing on her and not on their books. Both sisters married Bolognese lawyers, and whenever it was necessary Novella filled her husband's chair with perfect success.

For some centuries no woman lawyer of note followed them, but in the eighteenth century three distinguished women are again in the lists, beginning with Laura Bassi, born in 1711, and endowed with marvellous gifts. Philosophy, metaphysics, general and experimental physics, Greek and Latin were all in turn mastered by her, while her eloquence, acumen and wide learning attracted listeners and disciples from far and near. She took her degree with public honours in 1732; the Senate conferred on her a Chair of Philosophy in the University; and when she died in 1778 she was buried in state in the Church of Corpus Domini, arrayed in doctor's robes and mourned by the whole city. In spite of her many avocations and work, she was the happy wife of one Dr. Giuseppe Veratti, by whom she had twelve children, whose education, together with the management of her household, was personally superintended by her.

Anna Morandi was another of the gifted women of Bologna. Born in 1716, she became famous for

her lectures, chiefly on anatomy, which she had studied in order to help her husband, Giovanni Mazzolini, in his anatomical modelling for the Institute at Bologna. She filled the Chair of Anatomy offered to her by the Senate, and died in 1774.

Another Bolognese woman, Clotilde Tambroni, made a name for herself in Greek studies. She was appointed to the Chair of Greek Literature in the University, a post she filled for many years with distinction, and died in 1817.

To revert from the gifted women to the men who cultivated letters in the eighteenth century, it were well to begin with the celebrated Cardinal Giuseppe Mezzofanti, a Bolognese by birth, and for the latter part of his life librarian of the Vatican. His memory and gift for languages have probably never been equalled. He is said to have been acquainted with no less than seventy-two different languages, and that out of these he spoke thirty fluently, with an excellent accent; he held the Chair first of Arabic, then of Oriental Languages, in Bologna, where he was also librarian of the University, but he resigned all these offices in 1832, when Gregory XVI. invited him to Rome, to make him a Cardinal six years later.

Bologna is also justly proud of her men of science in comparatively modern times, chief among them being Ulisse Aldrovandi, Luigi Galvani, Giovanni Capellini, and Guglielmo Marconi, who hails from Bologna even if his duties and interests keep him chiefly in America or England.

The last and perhaps the greatest name on this list must be that of Giosuè Carducci, the great poet of United Italy, who was born at Val di Castello, 17th July, 1835. He was educated at Florence and Pisa, taking his degree at the latter University,

but most of his life was passed at Bologna, where he died, 16th February, 1907, respected, mourned and beloved by the whole population. The Republican tendencies of his youth gave way before the influence and charm of Queen Margherita, for whom he entertained an undying devotion and admiration, while she on her side befriended him to the end, and by her generosity and sympathy relieved and solaced the last years of his life.

FRESCO OF LAW-DOCTORS IN THE ARCHIGINNASIO

CHAPTER V

The Great Public Square of Bologna and S. Petronio

THE Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele is the home of some of the finest buildings in the town, but before studying them we must pause for a moment at two important objects which form, as it were, the approach to the piazza from the Via dell' Indipendenza, and that arrest our immediate attention. The first of these is the Fountain of Neptune, known to the townsfolk as the "Fontana del Gigante," and designed in the middle of the Cinquecento by one Tommaso Laureti of Palermo. He was deputed by the Commune to proceed to Florence and there choose a sculptor capable of carrying out the very elaborate and ornate plan which he had prepared for the fountain. His choice fell on Jehan Boulongue, a native of Douay in Flanders, born in 1524, whose name and fame has gone down to posterity as Gianbologna, and whom Italy may well claim as her own, seeing that his finest works were all done in Italy, and that it was there he spent most of his long life. He came to Bologna in August 1563, bringing with him Zanobi Portigiani, an expert founder, and together they set to work on the colossal statue of Neptune, on the four "putti" with the dolphins, on the sirens or harpies, and on the shields bearing the arms of Pope Pius IV., of the Legate Carlo Borromeo, of Pier Donato Cesi, the Vice-Legate, and of the Commune of Bologna. A plan of the whole was

taken to Rome by Gianbologna and submitted to the Pope, Pius IV.—who having expressed his approbation, the work was immediately put in hand, though Portigiani quickly made off for Florence and left Gianbologna to finish it alone. Laureti provided for no less than ninety jets of water to feed the fountain, the water being originally brought from two springs situate to the south of the city (but now supplied from the aqueduct of the Setta). The following inscription runs round the four sides of the basin: *Fori Ornamento—Populi Commodo—Ære Publico—MDLIIII.*, although actually it was not completed till 1566.

On the left-hand side of the fountain and close beside it stands the second object of interest alluded to above, the Palazzo del Re Enzo. This was built at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and took its name from the luckless King Enzo, son of the Emperor Frederick II., who, having been taken captive by the Bolognese at the battle of Fossalta in 1249, was imprisoned in this palace, where he remained in strict captivity till his death in 1272.[1] The building afterwards fell into ruin and decay, and it was not till 1906, under the guidance and genius of Alfonso Rubbiani, acting for the "Comitato per Bologna Storico-Artistica," that it was restored to its present condition.

Casa Stagni, at the corner of the Via dell' Indipendenza, is a fine Bolognese palace of late fifteenth-century work, ably restored between 1891 and 1892 by Augusto Sezanne.

We come now to the great square, the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele, and it would be difficult to find even in Italy (where each town seems to have a special art for making buildings of peculiar

[1] See Chapter II.

beauty and interest in its centre) a group of more remarkable buildings than are to be found here in Bologna. It is as though each age in turn had resolved to offer its tribute either of history, or romance, or beauty to gladden the very heart of the city and to encircle it with a stately setting of stone, brick and marble. It requires but a glance to see, both from the style and ornamentation, that the majority of these buildings date from the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the earliest of all being the Palazzo del Comune, or Comunale, which arose in 1200; followed in the same century by the Palazzo Pubblico; then in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the Residenza de' Notai; the Church of S. Petronio in 1390; and finally the Portico de' Banchi, founded in 1400, by Vignola according to some, and by Carlo da Limido according to others. The quiet dignity given to the square by these buildings is characteristic of the grave and well-nigh solemn beauty which is so marked a feature of the town of Bologna, a beauty that sets it apart from most Italian cities, and bids us approach it in a spirit peculiar to the place, and with special thoughts and feelings.

The name of "Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele" in substitution of "del Comune" and "Piazza Maggiore," as it was originally called, was given on the occasion of the "King Liberator's" visit to Bologna in May 1888; and the same year saw the erection of the equestrian statue to him, the work of Giulio Monteverde.

The *Palazzo del Comune*, or *Comunale*, was originally a mass of houses and palaces, the oldest among them being that of the Lambertacci, the family who represented the Guelph faction as opposed to the Geremei, who represented the

Ghibelline, and stood on the south side nearest to the fountain in the square.

The great pointed windows with their ornate decorations in terra-cotta were reconstructed by Fieravante Fieravanti after a fire in 1425. Below the balcony of one of these windows is a fine well-proportioned opening, the work of Sebastiano Serlio (1552), underneath which runs a decorated frieze with an eagle on one side ascribed by popular opinion to Michelangelo. Directly beyond this, and taking its stand with several other commemorative tablets on this façade, is one to the memory of Humbert I., flanked by two allegorical figures modelled by Giuseppe Romagnoli, and close by another tablet shows the old measures once in use in Bologna —a reproduction probably from ancient times. Beyond that again is the principal entrance, enlarged from designs by Galeazzo Alessi, where it was intended to place the statue of Pope Julius III. in 1550. This, however, was never done, and a few years later (1580) the space was altered by Dom. Tibaldi to admit the statue of Pope Gregory XIII., himself a Bolognese and the reformer of the calendar. The modelling of the statue—a really remarkable and artistic piece of work—was executed by Alessandro Menganti, whom the Carracci brothers declared to be an unrecognised Michelangelo! A very lovely statue of the Virgin and Child in terra-cotta, a little beyond that of the Pope and high aloft on the façade, is the work of Niccolò dall' Arca (1478), and still shows signs of the gilding which once covered it.

Immediately adjoining the Palazzo Comunale is that which once belonged to Accursius, standing on an arcade of columns, and frequently spoken of to this day as the "Palace of the Grain" (*Palazzo*

delle Biave, or *Biade*), as it was on the ground floor of this building that the corn-market was wont to be held—in the inner precincts the firemen (*pompieri*) now have their offices.

The tower of Accursius's palace originally boasted a wonderful clock, which in 1451 — thirty years before Copernicus came to Bologna to study astronomy—had a quadrant showing the movements of the sun and the constellations, and their varying distances. This building underwent modifications at the hands of the architect Giovanni da Brensa, who built the actual tower in 1444. Egidio Montanari made some alterations in 1493, and it was finally restored in 1905. The present clock was set up by Rinaldo Gandolfi in 1773. Immediately round the corner, and in the street known as the Via delle Asse, is an original window in terra-cotta, extremely beautiful as to design, proportion and decoration.

TERRA-COTTA WINDOW

The exterior of the Palazzo Comunale on three sides presents the aspect of a mediæval stronghold with bastions and buttresses prepared for a siege, and this indeed was imminent in 1365 when Cardinal Androino made it ready for such an eventuality. Inside the courtyard the design to the left is by Paolo Canali, and is out of keeping with the other three sides, these latter of an earlier date and better proportion, the work of Bartolommeo Fieravanti.

A tablet under the portico to the right, the oldest of these tablets, records the coronation in S. Petronio of the Emperor Charles V. by Clement VII. in 1530.

A sloping staircase, by Bramante (1509), leads to the first floor and to the hall, known as that of Hercules from the big statue of terra-cotta of the god who, seated with his club in his hand, symbolises Bologna victorious over the lordship of the Bentivogli. The work, executed in 1519, is by Alfonso Lombardi. Here, too, is Francia's fresco of "Our Lady of the Earthquake" (*Madonna del Terremoto*), which stood formerly in the chapel of the Anziani, and was removed here in 1897. Down an adjoining corridor is the hall of the County Council (*Sala del Consiglio Provinciale*), where the ceiling is decorated by L. Samoggia, while in the centre is seen the return of the Bolognese from the battle of Fossalta, and the charming seated figure of Irnerius, in the middle, by L. Serra (1886). Another sloping staircase leads to the second floor, where the Sala Farnese contains a bronze statue of Pope Alexander VII. by D. d'Osio (1660), and several paintings relating to Bolognese history. These latter are by artists of only secondary fame, and are not well preserved. Offices for the administration of town and provincial affairs occupy the rest of the building, among them being the Prefecture, Chamber of Commerce, Police Courts, Savings Bank, etc., etc.

The next large hall was the former chapel of the Anziani, where Charles V. placed on his head the iron crown of Lombardy which he had had brought for the purpose from Monza before he assumed the Imperial crown in S. Petronio.[1]

[1] This hall is now kept for the archives of the city, and is not easy of access to travellers.

Palazzo del Podestà

Opposite the Palazzo Comunale, and on the other side of the square facing the Church of S. Petronio, stands the Palazzo del Podestà, so called because in the year 1253 the Podestà, or Chief Magistrate of the town, there took up his abode. It is the oldest public building remaining in Bologna, and many events of civic and historic interest took place within its walls. Here is the big hall, known as the "Sala del Re Enzo," where the luckless monarch passed his days, and into the very rooms which he inhabited the public archives were transferred in 1375 from the Palazza delle Biade, where they had been kept till then, and where a disastrous fire had made their retention dangerous. Among these archives is the famous Bull of Pope Eugenius IV., known as the "Bollo dello Spirito Santo," for the union of the Greek and Latin Churches. Here, too, sat the conclave for the election of the new Pope on the death of Alexander V., who died in Bologna in 1410. His successor was Baldassare Cossa, formerly Legate in Bologna, who took the name of John XXIII.

The façade is ascribed by modern critics to Francesco Fuzzi di Dozza and to Giovanni di Pietro, known as "il Brensa," while the highly decorative part is due to Marsilio di Antonio. Built in 1485 on Renaissance lines, it has undergone many alterations and modifications, the chief being in 1603, 1647, at the end of the eighteenth century, and in more recent times by the "Comitato per Bologna Storico-Artistica," under the wise and thoughtful direction of Alfonso Rubbiani, who carried on the work till the year of his death, 1913. Behind the massive pillars and at the corners of an inner courtyard are seen the figures of the four patron saints of Bologna, modelled in terra-cotta by Alfonso

Lombardi. The window in the centre of the arches was used as the place of execution for criminals, and fifteenth-century chroniclers tell how the condemned man was led out to this spot with the hangman on one side and two Confraternity brothers on the other to comfort and sustain him. The death-sentence was read aloud, and the executioner having tied one end of the rope to the balustrade and the other round the man's neck, he was literally hurled into space, and the dead body left dangling exposed to view for many hours.

At the back of the palace stands the square turreted tower known as "dell' Arengo." It was erected in 1264, perhaps even earlier, and in it hangs the great bell, the "Campanazzo," which announced all the joyous and festive events of the city, its triumphs and mournings, though it is only rung now on great and special occasions.

The Palazzo del Re Enzo, of which mention has already been made, stands just behind, and is another instance of the many beautiful restorations that Bologna owes to the genius of Alfonso Rubbiani. This was completed in 1905.

In the north-east corner of the square stands the "Captain's Tower" (*Torre del Capitano*), so called because the command of the town was entrusted to a "Captain" in 1255, when the populace deposed the Podestà and set up their own representative, who lived here for a while. In 1327 the building served as a prison for women. The first clock that ever struck the hours in Bologna was placed in this tower by the tyrant Oleggio (1356), and the occasion of this striking was a circumstance that ranked of supreme importance in the city.

Between the Palazzo Comunale and the Church

of S. Petronio stands the *Palazzo dei Notai*, or the *Notaries*, who resided here from 1256 to 1797. It was presented to these worthies in 1283 by Rolandino dei Passaggeri, who founded the institution and was its first director. It served essentially for magisterial purposes, and there lived the "Anziani" at different periods. These town councillors (as the "Anziani" were) were established in 1228, when the people, dissatisfied with the rule of Uberto Visconti, appointed twenty-four representatives of the different guilds to administer justice. Their office, absolutely peculiar to Bologna, was of great weight in all matters of town legislation, and the election to the post of "Anziano" —always intricate and restricted to Bolognese of good family—entailed grave duties and responsibilities on those who were chosen.

The palace itself is a fine and striking building. Begun in 1278, it was considerably enlarged in 1384, the "master-masons" being Maestro Lorenzo da Bagnomarino and Antonio di Vincenzo. Further alterations took place in the fifteenth century, and at that period, too, the great hall was decorated with frescoes (St. Thomas' incredulity), and the arms of the company. A fine ceiling was added by the brothers Fieravanti. Within recent times (1908) the old palace has been fully restored to its former beauty by the "Comitato per Bologna Storico-Artistica" under its great leader and director, Alfonso Rubbiani.

We now come to unquestionably the most interesting feature in the whole piazza, and one which will claim more time than all the rest of the square put together, namely the Church of S. Petronio. The original plan of this basilica of the patron saint of Bologna was intended to have

been a Latin cross, each end of which was to have looked out on a separate square of its own. Bologna had not at that time come under the rule of the Holy See, and the governing body, the Council of the Six Hundred, decreed that a great church should be erected and paid for out of the public funds. This was in 1388, and on 7th June, 1390, the first stone was laid with much solemnity, the architect being Antonio di Vincenzo, while his right-hand man was the celebrated Frate Andrea Manfredi of Faenza.

Different motives are said to have been at work for the building of this great church. On one part the desire to testify to the liberty gained by the Bolognese over the Visconti is said to have prompted the republican form of government to set up a memorial for their deliverance; or perhaps the wish to emulate—if not to excel—the Duomo at Milan and Sta. Maria del Fiore at Florence may have had more to do with the erection of the Church of S. Petronio than any political impulse. The saint himself had lived at the beginning of the fifth century. The date and place of his birth are unknown, but he is said to have been the son of one Petronius, "Vicar of Spain" and Prefect of "Le Gallie," and remarkable for the fervour of his religious studies and for his learning, gleaned from the monks of the West. It is thought probable—though it is not certain—that he held some public office, but anyhow he was made Bishop of Bologna, and a letter to the Emperor Valerian mentions him as a man who had voluntarily renounced political honours and greatness in order to dedicate himself to the religious life. He died in 450, and the renown of "the man of blameless life" spread quickly through the town. His tomb, richly adorned

with marbles in the Church of S. Stefano, became at once an object of widespread veneration. That his remains should have been laid in this church is fitting, seeing that a tradition, based moreover on documents, asserts that S. Petronio, from the love and respect he "had in his heart" for the holy places in Palestine, built, not far from the Church of S. Vitale and S. Agricola, a series of temples which he dedicated to the proto-martyr St. Stephen, and which were on the plan of the sanctuary of Jerusalem, built by Constantine in the fourth century.

This builder of churches was in his turn to have a church built to his memory and dedicated to his honour. In February 1390 the Council of the Six Hundred bade Antonio di Vincenzo draw up a model suitable for such a church, and appointed to aid him in the business the above-named Frate Andrea Manfredi, General of the Order of the Servites, as a person of much moral weight, and "knowing as to churches." The model excelled what even Manfredi had expected, and he reported his approbation and satisfaction to the heads of the Commune. On the 7th June, 1390, the first stone was laid with much pomp and solemnity, but no further mention occurs as to Manfredi or why he went no further in the work.

The unfinished state of the façade fills one with regret, for had it been all carried out on the magnificent scale revealed by the completed half, it would without doubt have been one of the finest cathedral fronts in Italy. The greater part of what is finished is of marble, and it is sad to have to record that much of the Istrian stone and marble bought to complete the work was either sold or dispersed. By the latter half of the fourteenth century the

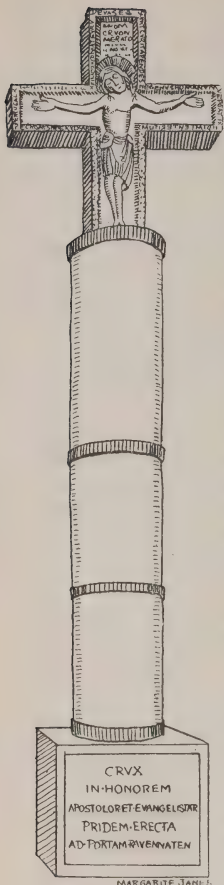
lower part, as we see it now, was encased in marble, but after that, for one reason or another, owing to the death of Antonio di Vincenzo and to internecine strife, lack of money and other evils, the work languished and eventually ceased entirely.

The three doors in the façade are remarkable and beautiful. The central one is by Jacopo della Quercia of Siena, whose work we shall find again several times in Bologna, and who first came to this town in 1425. By him, too, are the wonderful carvings on the pilasters and on the architraves, with fifteen stories from the Old and New Testaments, while crowning the whole is a glorious statue of the Virgin and Child. The statue of S. Petronio is also by him; that of St. Ambrose is of later date, and was executed by Varignana in 1510. Jacopo's work is again to be seen in the thirty-two half-sized figures of prophets and patriarchs ranged round the central arch; the others were executed in 1510 by Antonio del Minella of Padua and by the Lombard Antonio da Ortiglia.[1] In front of this door the great bronze statue of Pope Julius II. by Michelangelo was set up in 1508, only to be torn down and utterly destroyed in the riots headed by the Bentivogli three years later. The two side doors are by different artists, but it is not easy to determine who they were, nor to apportion to each his respective share. What is known, however, is that the designer was Ercole Seccadenari (1524), and the workers in marble were Sigismondo Bargelloso and Bernardino of Milan. Artists from all parts of Italy were collected for the decoration of these doorways, among them being Alfonso Lombardi, who wrought our Lord's Resurrection in the lunette

[1] A cast of these sculptures on the front of S. Petronio is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

on the left; while on the opposite side the Deposition of Christ with the Blessed Virgin and St. John is the work of Tribolo, Seccadenari and Aspertini. By Aspertini, too, is the figure of God the Father on the keystone of the arch. The side windows are very beautiful and worthy of notice, the two first on either side were designed in 1393 by Antonio di Vincenzo, and executed by Venetian artists. Beyond these, though very different and less ornate, the windows are beautiful specimens of the pointed arch—beautiful as to proportion and carving (1409–1460). The two at the end of the lesser naves are of later date. The belfry is by Brensa, 1486, though four years later, owing to a fire, Sperandio of Mantua was called in to remodel the top.

The interior at first sight may be voted cold and bare, but the beauty and interest of almost every one of the side chapels dispel this idea, and considering that the original scheme was never carried out the proportions are well preserved. The size, too, is striking, even if it falls short of what was first planned when Bologna would have boasted a Basilica only some thirty-six metres shorter than that of St. Peter's at Rome. The interior as it now is consists of three naves supported by ten large pillars, with polygonal flutings, erected at different epochs, and from which spring the pointed arches and vaultings. Twenty-two chapels are ranged on either side, the first two on each side being built as early as 1392. As many again were built by 1400, and by 1482 the whole twenty-two were in place. The roof was carried on progressively as each chapel was finished, everyone, as it were, "giving a hand" to help carry forward the weighty procession of bricks and mortar and marble. The bases of the



ROADWAY CROSS AND PILLAR

great pillars were first laid by Terribilia in 1509, but not being in keeping with the rest of the building they were removed, and in 1626 the actual pillars now standing were planned and executed by Girolamo Rainaldi, who brought about an harmonious whole even if he rather exaggerated the height of the nave. His work covered the years from 1647 to 1654.

Taking the chapels in order on the left-hand side facing the altar, we begin (1) with that dedicated to Sta. Maria de' Rusticani, to St. George, and St. Abondio. The only trace of old work is to be seen in two frescoes on the side walls by Giovanni of Modena (1420). They are, however, much touched up, if not wholly repainted. In this chapel the first Mass was celebrated in 1392; here also Charles V. put on his Imperial robes before Pope Clement VII. crowned him at the High Altar with the golden crown. Outside this chapel stands one of the many curious old crosses which stood of old in several of the highways of Bologna, and have found a safe and abiding place

in S. Petronio. This particular one stood near the Porta Ravegnana, not far from the Torre degli Asinelli. It has a crucifix carved in bas-relief; the date 1159 is engraved on it together with the names of " Pietro," and " Alberico " his father.

(2) In this second chapel, with its highly decorative ornamentation of marble, gilt-bronze and stucco, of carved wooden figures (almost all the work of the Torelli brothers), is kept the skull of S. Petronio, in a shrine of silver and lapis-lazuli. The saint's body, as has been said, lies in the Church of S. Stefano, but in 1743 the skull was removed from there and placed two years later in this spot. The barocco monument to the right to Cardinal Pompeo Aldrovandi is the joint work of Angelo Piò and Camillo Rusconi. In a vault underneath is a well-preserved Roman sarcophagus.

(3) Chapel of St. Ivo, though originally dedicated to St. Bridget. The altar was designed in 1752 by Carlo F. Dotti; the picture of St. Emidio, St. Ivo, and the " Madonna di S. Luca " is by Gaetano Gandolfi; that of S. Carlo is by Francesco Brizzi, and Sta. Francesca Romana is by Tiarini. Outside this chapel are two clocks, the first to be worked with pendulums, manufactured by Domenico and Cristino Fornasini. Above them is a gigantic figure of St. Christopher by Giovanni of Modena.

(4) The chapel of the Bolognini is one of the most lovely and interesting in the church. An inscription on the frieze of the iron screen states that it was built about 1400, and the whole was restored in 1875. The extremely interesting frescoes on the side walls were executed in accordance with an order left in his will by Bartolommeo Bolognini in 1408. Those on the left are divided in two parts: above is Paradise, the Blessed Virgin in the centre,

crowned amid a glory of saints and angels with banners and musical instruments in their hands, while underneath saints are ranged in council. Between the upper and lower divisions stands the Archangel Michael with the scales and sword of Justice, and below him is the Inferno, where much Dantesque imagery is introduced. On the wall to the right we have in eight original and quaint paintings the journeyings of the Magi, their interview with Herod (a subject not often treated in painting), and many incidents of their wanderings. After much discussion these frescoes are now attributed to Giovanni of Modena. The altarpiece is a gorgeous bit of Gothic decoration with gilding, carving, square painted panels, and twenty-seven figures carved in wood and painted. The stalls on each side of the altar are good specimens of inlaid work, and were brought from the choir of the suppressed Church of Sta. Maria del Carrobio. On the wall outside is a statue of S. Petronio, considered the oldest on record of the saint, but owing to frequent repairs much of its value has been lost.

(5) Chapel of St. Sebastian. Here is a glorious picture over the altar by some unnamed Ferrarese master representing the martyrdom of the saint, with several figures around, among them a fine one of the donor and founder of the chapel, Donato Vaselli, making a deep genuflexion. The beautiful Annunciation on either side the altar has been ascribed—and surely erroneously—to Lorenzo Costa, whereas the painting is far more in the style of Francia than in that of the Ferrarese master. The twelve Apostles and the decorations around have been ascribed to Francesco del Cossa, but are more probably by one of his pupils, as they are clearly of a slightly later date. The stalls of graceful and

charming inlaid work and relief were wrought in 1495 by Giacomo and his brother, the sons of Maestro Agostino de' Marchi of Crema. The floor is a beautiful example of majolica work, formed of square tiles, in which are shown horses, dogs, lions, stags, hares, monsters, busts of men and women, the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, fruits, flowers and other objects.[1] Scrolls with sacred mottoes, the names of some of the artists, and their devices, add to the effect of this wonderful pavement, which dates from the year 1487. The entire chapel underwent restoration in 1900. On the pilaster outside is a handsome tablet to Graziano Clusinio, carved in 1499.

(6) Chapel of St. Vincent, restored in 1912. The picture over the altar represents S. Vincenzo Ferreri. The busts of Francesco and Andrea Cospi are by an unknown author.

The heavy ugly pulpit standing close by in the nave, though old (1470), is altogether ungainly and out of place.

(7) Chapel of St. James, or of the Bacciocchi. It has a fine marble screen of the sixteenth century. Inside are two interesting monuments: the one to the right is to Prince Felice Bacciocchi and his wife Elisa Bonaparte, sister of Napoleon the Great, by Cincinnato Baruzzi, with two cherubs above by Lorenzo Bartolini. On the left is the monument to their children by Franzoni and B. Casoni. The gem of this chapel, however, is the altarpiece by Lorenzo Costa (1492) of the Virgin and Child above; while below, seated, are St. James and St. Jerome, and St. Sebastian and St. George are standing. (A curious optical delusion is obtained

[1] Mr. Pierpont Morgan offered a large sum for it, but fortunately his offer was refused.

by noticing how St. George's feet always turn towards you whichever way you go.) Over and beyond the grace and beauty of the figures may be noted the rich Venetian colouring of the background and of the throne. Two small statuettes aloft on the spandrils represent the Annunciation. In the lunette above are angels in glory by the same artist, who also designed the stained-glass window.

On the pilaster outside is the tomb of Cardinal Naccio, Bishop of Amelia, by Vincenzo Onofrio; and below on the floor is traced the meridian, which reaches from here to the west central door. A hole in the roof lets in the sun's rays, by means of which the exact hour of the day can be gauged with perfect accuracy. It was first placed here in 1575 by Padre Ignazio Danti; it was replaced in 1656 by G. D. Cassini and D. Guglielmini, and finally readjusted in 1776 by Eustachio Zanotti.

(8) Chapel of S. Rocco, with a huge figure of the saint by Parmigianino. The statue of S. Petronio, carved by Brunelli, was brought here from the Piazza Ravegnana in 1871. Opposite is a memorial tablet to Mauro Tesi, 1766.

(9) Chapel of St. Michael. This has a beautiful wrought-iron screen (1482) and monuments to Andrea Barbazza, a famous jurist, and to Giovanni his son. The three rounds in the stained-glass window are fine, as is also the altarpiece of the Archangel by Dionisius Calvaert. On the pillar outside is another of the many memorial crosses found in Bologna, which came from the cross-roads in Via Castiglione.

(10) Chapel of St. Barbara, restored in 1913. Here are a marble statue of Sta. Rosalia by Brunelli, and a picture of St. Barbara in glory, a youthful work of Alessandro Tiarini.

(11) Chapel of S. Bernardino of Siena, restored in 1909, and containing an ancient statue of the saint, brought from S. Francesco.

We now come to the Museo, or Treasury House, open from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m.[1] It was inaugurated in 1893, and is a wonderful collection of numerous lovely and interesting objects relating to the church. There is a series of designs—many of them extremely beautiful—from olden times down to the present day of plans and models for completing the façade. Among these architects and designers we find the names of Terribilia, Baldassare Peruzzi, Vignola, Tibaldi, Varignana, Rainaldi, Giulio Romano, Cristoforo Lombardi and others. There is, too, a fine bust of Count Guido Pepoli (wrongly ascribed to Properzia de' Rossi, and doubtless the work of Lombardi); four lovely bas-reliefs, one of them of Joseph and Potiphar's wife by Properzia is said by Vasari to be "more than admirable"; another of Potiphar's wife showing Joseph's mantle to her husband is also ascribed to Properzia; the third, Noah building the Ark, is equally remarkable; the fourth, Jacob's tomb, is ascribed to Lombardi. There is a wonderful display of vestments in the glass cases—copes, chalice-veils, covers, mitres, etc. Many of these copes are said to have taken eighty years to embroider and represent the life-work of two women—one who began, the other who finished the marvellously detailed and rich needlework. There are besides reliquaries, crosses, chalices of every description, and a wealth of rock-crystal, "pietra-dura" of many varieties, all very striking and all worth studying. In the cases opposite are assortments of old musical books, missals, codices, with some exquisite miniatures

[1] Entrance fee 25 centimes, Italian and French catalogues 50 centimes.

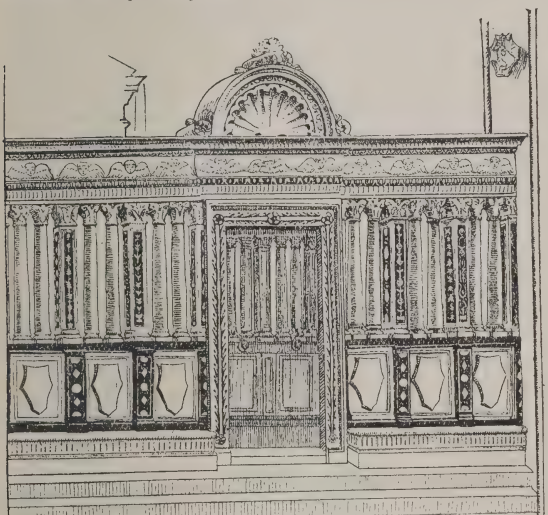
dating from the end of the fifteenth century by Martino di Giorgio of Modena and Marco Pasqualigo.

Just out of the Museum is a fine door, facing the left nave, devised and decorated by Alessandro Barbieri—late eighteenth-century work.

(12) The Chapel of the "Presbytery" or the High Altar. The frescoes in the choir of the Blessed Virgin and Child, with S. Petronio kneeling below, were designed by Cicognani, and executed by Marc. Ant. Franceschini and Luigi Quaini. The tabernacle, or ciborium, originally planned by Vignola in 1548, was altered in 1669 by Francesco Martini. The statues and external decorations on the organ were all the work of G. B. Barberini, and Paolo Griffoni (1675), but on the right side traces of far older work, dating from 1470, may yet be seen. The lectern, surmounted by a statue of David, is striking, with inlaid work by Silvestro Gianotti; and finer still are the inlaid stalls by Agostino de' Marchi of Crema and his sons (1468–1477), which Vittorio Fiori restored in 1911. On each side of the wide steps are two marble statues of St. Anthony of Padua and St. Francis by Girolamo Campagna of Verona. Outside the "Presbytery," and in a niche under the right side of the organ, is "the mortuary of Christ" (*il mortorio di Cristo*), with seven figures around by Vincenzo Onofrio, who has affixed his signature to the cushion on which rests the head of our Lord. The door in front of the nave was ornamented by Petronio and Francesco Tadolini. In the Sacristy is a series of pictures with scenes from the life of S. Petronio by various artists.

(13) Chapel of the Reliquaries, on which rests the campanile erected in 1479, where hang the bells brought from S. Michele in Bosco, and presented by voluntary subscriptions by the citizens

of Bologna in 1809. On the right is a "St. Ignatius," by Giuseppe Becchetti, between two statuettes by Properzia de' Rossi; the "Assumption" on the left is by Tribolo (1537), and the two angels are said to be by Properzia.



CHAPEL OF ST. PETER

(14) Chapel of St. Peter; adorned with an extraordinarily beautiful screen of lovely columns of inlaid marble, certainly of the school of Niccolò dall' Arca if not, indeed, by his hand. The frescoes inside are by Passarotti, and represent the Virgin and Child between Angels, SS. Peter and Dominic, and St. Peter's martyrdom. On the right is a crowded fresco by Brizzi (1618) of the Coronation of the Madonna di Borgo S. Pietro.

The next cross we come to outside this chapel was found at the crossway of S. Paolo, and is the third of those said to have been dotted by S. Petronio about the highways of Bologna. Close by stands a fine mural tablet and bust by Domenico da Varignana to John, Duke of Bavaria, who died at Bologna in 1537.

(15) Chapel of St. Anthony of Padua. A marble statue of the saint, said to be by Sansovino, stands on the richly-decorated altar. The paintings in chiaroscuro on the walls show the miracles of the saint, and are by Girolamo Pennacchi of Treviso (1526). Other paintings of a later date are by F. Mondini and Gia. Alboresi (1662).

(16) Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. The marble altarpiece was designed by Vignola (1550). The choir-stalls, brought from S. Michele in Bosco, are the work of Fra Rafaello of Brescia (1521), and are fine. An inscription on the old screen tells how this chapel was restored in 1814.

(17) Chapel of the Immacolata (closed for repairs in 1921 and 1922, and said to contain many reliquaries).

(18) Chapel of St. Jerome. Founded in 1481 by Baldassare Castelli. The screen dates from 1485. The painting of St. Jerome is ascribed alternatively to Lorenzo Costa and Ercole Roberti. Other objects of note are a Madonna in terra-cotta in a niche, a crucifix of the fifteenth century on the left, and a charming effigy in relief of B. Castelli in the pavement (1484).

(19) Chapel of S. Lorenzo. Founded by the Garganelli family. The crucifix, of the year 1462, and the "Pietà" by Amico Aspertini (1519) are both good, and should be noted.

(20) Chapel of Sta. Croce. Was under the patronage of the Notaries in 1459. On the altar is a

crucifix of the Trecento, repainted by Giacomo Francia. Here is some fine stained glass, designed by Michele di Matteo and executed by the famous B. Giacomo of Ulm, who was then (*circ.* 1464) at work also at S. Domenico. On the walls are pictures of the fifteenth century, some by Franc. Lola with the date 1419. The fine screen was probably designed by Niccolò dall' Arca and fashioned by Albertino Rusconi (1483). On it are carved medallions of Rolandini and Pietro da Unzola, once upon a time famous jurisconsults in the Guild or Society of Notaries.

(21) Chapel of St. Ambrose. A fine painting of St. Ambrose between two warrior-saints, by an unknown artist, early Cinquecento date, and probably of the Venetian School.

(22) Chapel of St. Bridget, with a fine iron-work screen executed in 1904, and copied from the one in chapel No. 9. The Virgin and Child with SS. Bridget, John and James are said to be by Marco Zoppo. The mural paintings are by Luca da Perugia (1417) and Francesco Lola of Bologna (1419–1431). On the adjoining pilaster is the fourth of the monumental crosses, which came from the cross-roads of S. Gregorio.

(23) Chapel of Our Lady of Peace, whose statue stands on the altar, and was originally carved by Giovanni Ferrabech in 1394 for the exterior basement of the church. It is now covered by a frontal painted by Giacomo Francia. A recumbent figure on the left is, according to a legend, that of a soldier who fell dead here for having, in a fit of anger, impiously struck the Madonna with his sword.

Before leaving the church the many beautiful figures on the small inner doors should be noted. The one of God the Father is by Lombardi, and by him too, in co-operation with Francesco da

Milano, are the Adam, Eve and the Serpent on the other door. The decorations and statues on the big door are by the brothers Francesco and Petronio Tadolini (1784). To the right of this door is a marble monument to Antonio Palavicini and the bust of Cardinal Laz. Sforza Palavicini (1677). To the left are memorials to the Cereoli family adorned with statuettes.

Emerging on the piazza we see on our right the "Palazzo dei Banchi," built about 1400 on ground till then covered by many small houses. It was enlarged and rearranged in 1565 by Barozzi da Vignola, though some writers claim Carlo da Limido as the architect. This building of fine and noble proportions was the residence of the city bankers, and took its name from them.

DRAWING OF HEAD OF S. PETRONIO

CHAPTER VI

The Museo Civico—The Archiginnasio

THE Museo Civico, which stands in the Via Archiginnasio (No. 2) by the side of the Public Library, demands a long and careful visit. The Museum is formed of several old buildings, the chief having been the former church and ominously-named "Ospedale della Morte," which were converted in 1565 by the architect Antonio Terribilia into a place for housing the State archives and the Civic Museum. A wonderful and most interesting collection of Greek, Roman, Etruscan and Mediæval remains is here beautifully arranged and classified, and consists of legacies and gifts from many leading citizens of Bologna in past and present times, among whose names are those of Ulisse Aldrovandi, General Luigi F. Marsili, Ferdinando Cospi, Benedict XIV., who bequeathed a fine set of coins and medals, and Palagio Palagi. It is still further enriched from the results of excavations in and around the town, which have gone on for centuries and are continued assiduously to this day.

In the centre of the entrance is a pavement of the time of the Cæsars, ornamented with floral decorations and a head of Medusa. It was found when excavating in the Via dei Mille, where the Palazzo del Seminario now stands, and was then removed to its present position. In the atrium are two large tombs from Villanova with the peculiar laying known as "pebble-laying," used so largely by Etruscans in their burial-places, and belonging to a very

remote period. Here are also many Roman remains and monuments, all found in the neighbourhood.

The courtyard, formerly the cloister of Sta. Maria della Morte, is charmingly arranged as a small garden with a fountain in the middle, and on three sides are inscriptions and bits of carving let into the wall, nearly all brought from excavations that took place after the year 1895. Chief among these is the large "Pietra Militare" brought from the bed of the river Reno, together with blocks and building material of an even earlier date used for a bridge erected in 1250. In a second and inner courtyard are placed decorative specimens of Bolognese terra-cotta work from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, of beautiful design and variety.

On the ground floor is the "Museo del Risorgimento," containing documents, arms, dresses, and other articles relating to the history of the Emilia and the Romagna at the period when Italy began her heroic struggle to shake off the foreign yoke. The story begins with the gallant but ill-fated attempts of Zamboni and De Rolandis (1790–1796) to free their country from Austrian dominion, down to the conquest of Rome in 1870.

Ascending the staircase we come to Sala I., where are assortments of flints, bones, hatchets and tools used by the primitive inhabitants of the land, and belonging to the Stone Age.

Sale II., III., IV., and V. contain bronze vases, idols of wood and stone and metal, sarcophagi, tombs, urns, Egyptian mummies, some valuable papyri, carvings, domestic utensils, all of very ancient date and fashion.

Sala VI. contains a large collection of painted vases and Greek statuary, prominent among these

HEAD OF ATHENE, ASCRIBED TO PHIDIAS (MUSEO CIVICO)

being the famous head of "Athena Lemnia," belonging to the full-length statue which dates from the fifth century B.C. and is ascribed to Phidias. The "torso" to which the head belongs is at Dresden, and from it has been made the plaster cast standing beside the head, showing what a magnificent work the original must have been in its entirety.

In the small Sala VII. are numerous marble busts and statues and some decorative Roman art.

Sala VIII.—Italo-Etruscan art; statuettes in bronze; arms, domestic utensils, Etruscan urns, and many objects brought from tombs at Rimini, Pesaro and Teramo, two terra-cotta friezes, one showing the legend of Ariadne, the other the sack of the Delphic Sanctuary by the Goths, found at Civita Alba, near Sassoferrato.

Sala IX.—Roman remains in marble, bronze, glass, household utensils, statuettes of gods, terra-cotta lamps, large vases with ashes and unguent-holders, glass, and portraits in glass for graves.

Sala X.—An immense room in which is a collection of early Bolognese funereal objects (*necropoli felsinee*): Umbrian tombs with archaic *graffito* drawings, bronzes and vases of a less remote period, horse-bits, brooches, buckles, trays, swords, Etruscan head-stones (*stelæ*). Here, too, are seen in entire tombs the skeletons of men and women laid to rest many centuries ago. Little did the people of that bygone age think that strangers would one day marvel over their relics, and gaze in admiration on the favourite possessions which, buried with them, were to comfort and solace them on their unknown journey. In most cases the skeletons lie with the face turned upward, the feet to the east, the hands crossed low down, the funereal possessions all placed

on the left side, and the coin—journey money—held in the right hand.

These tombs were mostly discovered between 1872 and 1896 (no less than 400 were opened in four years) in the neighbourhood of Bologna, chiefly outside the Porta S. Isaia, the Certosa or Campo Santo, and the Giardino Margherita. Many of the funereal urns (*ossuari*) date from the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., and are decorated with the *graffito* or "scratched" decoration made with a sharp-pointed tool on the soft clay, and consisting of lines, triangles, rounds, and flowing patterns. Others of a slightly later date, the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth century B.C., occasionally are painted in red, and depict birds, monkeys, flowers, stars, and even some attempts at the human form. In all these tombs the bodies have been cremated.

A glass case contains the few gold objects found in the different tombs, while on a stand close by is the famous bronze *situla*,[1] a striking example of Umbrian art, formed of four horizontal zones or rows. The top one shows a military procession of cavalry, four groups of foot-soldiers, each group differently clad and accoutred; the second row represents a sacrificial procession, with priests, priestesses, the victims to be slain, all the vessels and utensils represented being identical with those to be seen in the Museum, and all taken from Umbrian tombs. In the third row are scenes from civil and country life: agriculture, a concert and sports, games and hunting. The fourth and lowest row is adorned with wild and fantastic beasts.

Sala XI.—Ancient Gallic and Roman remains

[1] A *situla* is an urn of a conical or bucket-like shape in which the ashes of the deceased were buried.

with the usual amount of buckles (*fibulæ*), amber beads, hatchets, razors, knives, swords, daggers, and so forth, together with material for fusing metals.

Sala XII.—An immense amount of bronze objects are shown here (not less than 4000), which are said to have been found in the Piazza S. Francesco and to have belonged to an iron foundry.

Sala XIII.—We now come to the second section of the Museum, the mediæval and modern part, where are to be found weapons of various ages and countries, including those of Eastern and savage peoples.

Sala XIV.—Specimens of Murano glass; two vases (*ampolla*) with the Bentivoglio arms, and a rich collection of Moorish, Asiatic, Mexican and Italian pottery, among the latter being two beautiful dishes or plates, the work of "Maestro Giorgio di Gubbio," one representing the Presentation in the Temple, the other Moses receiving the Tables of the Law. Here, too, are exhibited some large and beautifully decorated tubs or jars in which "La Triaca" was kept. This compound was formed chiefly of herbs used over a hundred years ago for "physicking and purging" the good people of Bologna in the spring. It was administered freely to all who were minded to profit by the remedy in spoonfuls, and was swallowed with mingled good-will and faith.

Sala XV.—Here are objects in ivory, coloured glass and beads, musical instruments, coffers, enamels, among them a beautiful triptych from Limoges representing the life of St. John; old Bolognese weights and measures—some of the year 1487—and on the walls some fine specimens of stamped leather.

Sala XVI. contains fine plaster casts of the "Neptune" in the Piazza by Gianbologna; the

bust of Pope Gregory XIII. by Menganti; a bust in marble of Innocent X. by Algardi; a panel by Jacopo della Quercia, and divers objects such as bronzes, carvings and so forth.

Sala XVII.—Perhaps one of the most interesting of the Museum from the number of bas-reliefs from the tombs of the Bolognese "Rettores" and "Lettores" of the University. Here we have most graphic and interesting scenes of collegiate life in the fourteenth century, which show alternately the rapt eager attention of the students, the exalted position of the lecturers, the attitude of the listeners, full of life, expression and study without one single example of inattention or boredom, and omitting no detail as to the "sitting" of the scholars, the various positions of their benches, and the respective dresses of masters and pupils. The earliest shown is that of Giovanni d'Andrea in 1348; Giovanni da Legnano—though a fragment, one of the most interesting—by the Venetian brothers Jacobello and Pier Paolo dalle Massegne, 1383; Carlo and Bartolommeo da Saliceto, by Andrea da Fiesole, 1403 and 1412. Larger and earlier monuments, as distinguished from the bas-reliefs, are those of Bartoluzzi de' Preti, 1318; Michele da Bertalia, 1328; Matteo Gandoni, 1330; Pietro Ceruiti, 1338; Bonifazio Galluzzi, 1348; and Dino Ghisilieri by Pier dalle Massegne, 1374. There are other fine bas-reliefs of St. George, the Blessed Virgin and Child, by Jacopo della Quercia; the tombstone of Domenico Garganelli, perhaps by Albertino Rusconi, but lately attributed to Francesco della Cossa, and the "Sudario" ascribed to Francesco di Simone. The bronze statue of Pope Boniface VIII. was modelled in 1307 by Manno di Bandino of Siena.

BAS-RELIEF OF MASTER AND SCHOLARS FROM THE TOMB OF BONIFAZIO GALLUZZI (MUSEO CIVICO)

Sala XVIII.—Here we have a collection of over a hundred missals beautifully and richly illuminated, arranged chronologically, and dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, with many codices and illuminated statutes of the Bolognese Guilds, of great price and interest. Some of this miniature work is ascribed to Marco Zoppo, some to Michele di Matteo; there is an Annunciation of the fourteenth century by Jacopo di Paolo; there are also some Giottesque crucifixes (one attributed to Simone), Byzantine paintings, and triptychs of the thirteenth century. Here, too, is a magnificent cope, said to be English embroidery (*opus Anglicanum*) of the fourteenth century and illustrating in one corner the murder of Thomas à Becket. It was worn by Pope Innocent IV. and also, it is said, by Clement VII. when he crowned Charles V. Emperor in the Church of S. Petronio, and ranks among the oldest and most famous vestments in existence. The contents also include a fine collection of coins with many specimens of Sperandio of Mantua, Matteo de' Pasti, Vittore Pisano, and other illustrious medallists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There is a curious piece of silver filigree set with walnut shells by Properzia de' Rossi, and a Crucifixion by Francia—a juvenile work.

In the Via Foscherari, close by, the State archives have been stored since the year 1875. They relate, however, so exclusively to local and civic matters that the ordinary traveller may pass on, and devote more time to the Archiginnasio, in front of which, in the Piazza Galvani, is a statue of the great electrician, Luigi Galvani, the work of the sculptor Adalberto Cencetti, erected in 1879.

The Archiginnasio is one of the most important

and interesting buildings in Bologna, for it was here that in 1563 the University took up its abode, and here it remained till 1803. Five years later, in 1808, it was used for a while for the Religious Schools (*Scuole Pie*), and in 1838 it was adapted for its present purpose, that of the Communal Library. The need for gathering together in one the scattered schools and colleges made itself felt with increasing insistence as the centuries rolled on, and two years before Antonio Terribilia set about the erecting and arranging of the Museo Civico he was entrusted by the town authorities with the conversion of a series of old houses, chief among them being the "Fabbriceria di S. Petronio," into a suitable edifice for the University, known then and for ever after as the "Archiginnasio." The entrance, in one of the arcaded and much-frequented streets, known either as the "Paviglione" or "Via dell' Archiginnasio," is through some fine iron gates (1665) that were brought from S. Michele in Bosco, and leads into a large square courtyard surrounded by a loggia, above which stands another loggia of equal proportions. These loggie, as well as the stairs which lead to them, are ornamented with thousands (some writers say 5000, others say 10,000) of coats of arms of the scholars and professors, priors and rectors, foreign and Italian alike, who belonged at different periods to the old University. The four first "Sale" were told off for the "Jurists," the others for the "Artists"; a fresco of the Madonna and Child stood over each chair, to which the professor mounted by two low steps, and on the walls were massed coats of arms and other decorations relating to the University. In the big hall, now used for the general reading-room, examinations for the "Artists" were held; and

that at the further end served for the examinations of the "Jurists." In this latter Donizetti conducted Rossini's "Stabat Mater" in 1842.

The Library possesses over 320,000 volumes, over 6000 MSS., some 100,000 autograph letters, and a number of engravings, portraits, drawings and architectural plans of special interest relating to the architecture of the town. The greater part of these treasures are derived from legacies or gifts of distinguished Bolognese citizens, among them Abate Antonio Magnani and Cardinal Mezzofanti; while some 60,000 volumes were added when several religious bodies were suppressed. There are also some Greek codices, among them a Euclid of the eleventh century, many Latin codices, and a vast amount of illuminated manuscripts, artistic bindings, and rare works. All this material is admirably arranged in twenty-two rooms, each ornamented with the students' coat of arms, which give to the Library a very special and ornate character, and infuse into the scholar of the day memories and traditions of a most inspiring nature.

One of the most interesting rooms is that on the first floor known as the "Teatro Anatomico," where celebrated professors of old lectured on anatomy. The room is panelled and was decorated in wood by Antonio Levanti early in the eighteenth century, the walls being of pine, the ceiling of cedar, showing the signs of the Zodiac with Apollo in the centre. The two figures supporting the *baldacchino* over the lecturer's chair are of lime-wood, and were carved in 1735 by Ercole Lelli, showing in a masterly way the anatomy of the body and the play of the muscles. The other figures in the room represent former celebrated physicians, and are by Silvestro Giannotti. Other adjoining rooms contain gifts

made to the Archiginnasio on the occasion of the eighth centenary of the "Studio" in 1888, together with the Library and Archives presented by the Gozzadini family, a host of documents, MSS., engravings, etc., connected with Bolognese history, and further Umbro-Etruscan excavations brought from Villanova. The Library is open to the public for study and reading every day in the week, and nothing can exceed the readiness and courtesy of all the officials to anyone who wishes to frequent it.

Before coming away it is well to visit the little Chapel of Sta. Maria dei Bulgari, on the ground floor and nearly opposite the entrance. The name comes from the Bolognese family "dei Bulgari," and in the chapel there is an Annunciation by Dionisius Calvaert (1583), and frescoes on the walls by Bartolommeo Cesi of scenes from the life of the Blessed Virgin set in decorative stucco work of the late Cinquecento period.

CHAPTER VII

The Cathedral—S. Giacomo Maggiore—SS. Vitale e Agricola—The present University—Sta. Maria dei Servi—S. Stefano—S. Giovanni in Monte

THE Cathedral Church of Bologna, S. Pietro, in the Via dell' Indipendenza is a disappointment to all who hope to find in it such treasures of art and beauty as abound so freely in the other principal churches of the town. It lays claim, however, to a great antiquity in that it is said to have been founded in 910, when the incursions of the Hungarians (*Ungari*) had played havoc with SS. Peter and Paul, one of the seven churches of S. Stefano, which was till then the Metropolitan Church of Bologna. The first building met with no end of vicissitudes, not to say misfortunes, for when the work was not only started but well under way a destructive fire — so common at that period in Bologna — destroyed it entirely, and there was nothing for it but to begin all over again. This was in 1131, and between 1161 and 1165 the church was rebuilt, and consecrated shortly after. It was terribly damaged by an earthquake in 1222, and though much restored by Bishop Enrico della Fratta (who partly built the door leading to the Via Altabella) it was a prey to one misfortune after another, so much so that hardly any traces now remain to give even a hint of what its former beauties were. An unending series of alterations and "improvements," that interfered hopelessly

the one with the other as to carrying out the original design, have ended in the erection of a cold barocco building instead of the stately basilica, partly "romanico," partly ogival, that once characterised the Metropolitan Church of Bologna. The beautiful twelfth-century campanile is all that remains of the building of that date, and is the work of the architect Maestro Alberto, to whom is also attributed the tower of the Podestà. The present church, as Ricci says,[1] "grandiose but of poor effect," was begun in 1605 from designs by Floriano Ambrosini, on lines originated by Giacomo Ambrogio Magenta, a Barnabite padre of Milan, who retained the high altar set up in 1575 by Dominico Tibaldi, but transformed the rest into one single nave flanked by three chapels on either side. The façade was added in 1743–47, by the order and munificence of Pope Benedict XIV., himself a Bolognese of the Lambertini family, and is the work of Alfonso Torregiani, while the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul are by Agostino Corsini and Peter Vershaf, a Dutchman, respectively.

Immediately on entering the principal door are seen two lions in red Verona marble that date from 1220, holding holy-water stoups, and said to be the work of the Bolognese sculptor Ventura. These and the spiral column standing in a corner are among the few treasures that once adorned the old church, the lions having formerly formed part of the south door near the campanile. The inner decoration of this door and the statues in the niches at the end of the nave are by Lorenzo Sarti. All the pavement was relaid with costly marbles in 1902 and in 1905 from designs by Silvio Gordini,

[1] Corrado Ricci, *Guida di Bologna*, p. 176. Zanichelli, Bologna.

at the expense of Monsignore Lodovico Zucchini, who also provided for the gilding of the six large columns of the high altar. In the second chapel (for mention is here only made of chapels and objects—and there are not many in this church —of special interest for English visitors) is a reliquary of very ornate decoration and enamel containing a relic of St. Anne (to whom the chapel is dedicated) that was presented in 1435 to the blessed Nicolò Albergati by Henry VI. of England. Another survival of the former church is to be found in a holy-water stoup near the sacristy door resting on a lioness suckling her cubs. In the sacristy itself are several pictures, among them a fine one by Bagnacavallo (1522) of the Crucifixion with the Magdalene and other saints; and a poor one by Elisabetta Sirani of the Virgin and Child with SS. Antonio and Romano. On the way to the crypt are to be seen traces of the first basilica, and of the part the big pillars and walls played in that early construction. In the crypt itself one of the most striking objects is the group of the Maries and other figures weeping over the dead Christ in clay by Alfonso Lombardi (1504), while over the second altar are preserved in a marble sarcophagus the bones of Bologna's earliest martyrs, S. Vitale and S. Agricola, which were brought here from their first resting-place in S. Stefano with great pomp and ceremony by order of Cardinal Gabrielle Paleotti in 1570.

Returning into the church, we see above the big lunette near the high altar an Annunciation by Lodovico Carracci, the last picture he ever painted and certainly one of his best. The baptistery contains a marble font supported by a bronze angel, the work of Ferdinand Saint-Urbain, a

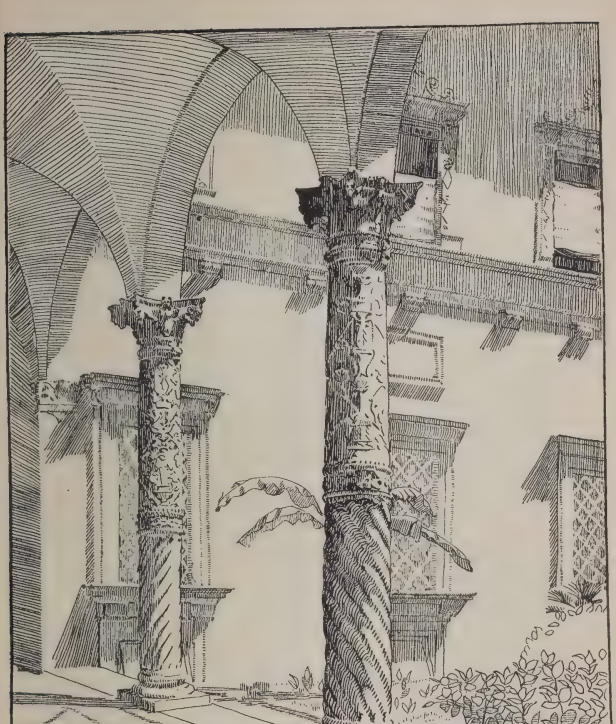
famous chiseller of Lorraine, while in an adjoining chamber is a unique collection of baptismal records kept in Bologna from the year 1450 down to the present time.

Leaving the church by the side door into the Via Altabella, we come to the three-storied campanile of the thirteenth century with its cupola of lead added in 1426, and close by to the right, at the angle of the Via Altabella and the Via Venezia, is the Torre Azzoguidi, one of Bologna's highest and biggest towers (though of more recent construction than the Asinella, it is nearly three feet wider) before it was cut down to its present dimensions.

The Archbishop's Palace, or "Arcivescovado," the residence of the Archbishop of the diocese, was rebuilt in 1575 by Domenico Tibaldi; it was restored about the middle of the nineteenth century, and still shows some traces of the original building executed by order of Enrico della Fratta in 1213. Close by and abutting upon a large courtyard, from which a good view of the old campanile and the exterior of the choir can be had, stands the Torre Prendiparte, or "Coronata," in the Via S. Alò. In height, although it has been lowered, it is almost fifty-nine metres (nearly 192 feet). In the eighteenth century it was used as the Archiepiscopal prison; before that it served as a tower of defence at times of civic broils.

On the left in the Via del Monte stands the beautiful Palazzo Boncompagni, now Benelli, built in 1538 from designs by Vignola and restored in 1845. The doorway and the courtyard with its highly decorated and lovely columns are worthy of note.

Another fine palace close by in the Via Goito,



COURTYARD OF PALAZZO BONCOMPAGNI, NOW BENELLI

though in a very different style and dissimilar to most of those in Bologna, is the Palazzo Mazzolini-Mandelli, formerly Piella, with massive heavy slabs of stone at the base, at the corners, and over the windows. It was built in 1545 by the historian and man of letters Achille Bocchio, from designs by Giacomo Barozzi of Vignola. The lower floor contains a painting by Prospero Fontana over a fine chimney-piece of the fourteenth century upheld by griffons. In the street opposite, Via Marsala, No. 12, is one of the oldest, most interesting and most beautiful of the mediæval palaces of Bologna, known as "Casa Grassi," now owned by the State and used for the offices of the "Sovraintendenza dei Monumenti," who restored it in 1910–13. The upper floor consists of a portico supported by wooden beams, with some decorated terra-cotta windows; the entrance is a very ornate arched doorway, and in the courtyard is a Madonna and Child in terra-cotta of the fifteenth century.

The Church of S. Martino in this neighbourhood is not one of the great churches of Bologna, but it has several interesting pictures and a handsome door and porch. It was known in early times as "S. Martino dell' Aposa," from the stream of that name which flows in its underground bed below the front of the church. In the first chapel, erected in 1529 by the Boncompagni family, is a fine and interesting picture by Girolamo da Carpi (1530) of the Adoration of the Magi. The frame of this picture and the decorative work on pilasters and capitals is by Formigine. In the fifth chapel is a good painting of the Virgin and Child, with St. Nicholas, St. Lucy, a bishop and other figures, by Amico Aspertini. On re-entering the church from the cloisters (where are many memorial tablets

and inscriptions) there is seen a fine fresco of the Madonna in glory, ascribed to Vitale da Bologna, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century. Beyond this, in the ninth chapel, is one of Lorenzo Costa's finest pictures, of the Assumption, with the Apostles below, and showing much of Perugino's influence.

The last, or twelfth, chapel is a fine piece of architecture in Bramantesque style, restored under the master hand of Alfonso Rubbiani; the decorations were renovated and completed by Achille Casanova, and the iron screen is by Alfonso Tartarini (1899). The altarpiece with the Virgin and Child, with SS. Sebastiano, Rocco, Bernardino and Antonio, bears the signature of Francesco Francia, who also painted the Deposition overhead and the Christ in the predella ornamented by Formigine. The coloured glass is said to be from designs by Francia and executed by one of William of Ulm's pupils.

Taking the Via Marsala, which leads to the Via Zamboni, we come to the Piazza Rossini and the Church of S. Giacomo Maggiore. The first stone of this beautiful and interesting church was laid by Ottaviano Ubaldini, Bishop of Bologna, on 25th March, 1267. It was enlarged in 1285 and completed in 1344, and for centuries it was under the rule of monks of the Augustinian order. Standing in the little Piazza Rossini, it adjoins the College of Music which bears the great composer's name, where he studied, and where there is a library rich in original editions, autographs of famous musicians, and among other treasures the MSS. of the celebrated Padre Martini, himself a native of Bologna. The church has a fine façade, on which a frieze of enamelled and majolica tiles stands high

above two elongated ogival but bricked-up windows, decorated with marble and flanking a big square central window. High aloft in a niche is a statue of St. James, while the pinnacles on either side are empty. The severe simple lines of the central door are emphasised by side columns which rest on two lions, while on either hand are niches with frescoes, in one of which is an unknown tomb of the sixteenth century. The whole of this façade was entirely renewed and remodelled by the "Comitato per Bologna Storico-Artistica" who have done such splendid work in preserving in a marvellously artistic and irreproachable spirit so many of Bologna's most famous monuments, and to whom the town owes a debt of undying gratitude.

Entering the church, we notice the fine vaulted cupola which was substituted for a beamed ceiling in 1493; and a series of statues in the balustrading that runs above the figures of the Blessed Virgin, our Lord, and the twelve Apostles by Pietro Bec chetti (1727). There is a good deal in this church of secondary interest which need only be touched on lightly, and it is not till we come to the sixth chapel on the right that we find any arresting painting. Here is a fine work by Bartolommeo Passarotti (1565), once ascribed to Francia, of the Blessed Virgin enthroned with SS. John the Baptist, Stephen, Augustine, Anthony and Nicholas, full of light and movement.

In the eighth chapel is a signed picture by that most sympathetic painter Innocenzo da Imola (1536), representing the mystical marriage of Our Lord and St. Catherine, together with SS. Joseph, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist. Here, too, by the same artist is a small Nativity, a beautiful work in a beautiful frame. Close by is a

fine tomb, ascribed to Lombardi, of the Bolognese jurist G. B. Malavolta, dated 1533.

In the tenth chapel is a much-blackened picture by Lodovico Carracci, showing S. Rocco attacked by the plague and succoured by an angel, St. John Baptist and St. Francis.

The eleventh chapel has a good picture by the Flemish painter Dionisius Calvaert of the Archangel Michael with the Blessed Virgin and saints. The architecture, stuccoes and side paintings in the twelfth chapel are good specimens of Pellegrino Tibaldi's work in the second half of the Cinquecento. The altarpiece, Our Lord's Baptism, is by Prospero Fontana, executed in 1561 by order of the same Tibaldi. Beyond the sacristy door is seen the great arch on which the fine campanile is admirably placed. A painting of Dionisius Calvaert over the altar shows the Blessed Virgin above, and below St. Catherine, St. Lucy and the Blessed Riniero.

The next chapel, No. 14, erected in 1408, is devoted to works of female artists, for the Madonna and Child with SS. Cosimo and Damiano, with the portrait of the donor, one of the Calcina family, is by Lavinia Fontana (1589), while the picture on the right side wall of St. Thomas of Villanova is by Ginevra Cantofoli.

In the fifteenth chapel, erected in 1408 by the Cari family, is an altarpiece of the fifteenth century; the large crucifix fastened to the left wall bears the name of "Simone" with the date of 1370.

The sixteenth chapel (opposite the last one) shows St. Anna teaching the Blessed Virgin to read, surrounded by angels, the work of G. B. Grati, while near by is the monument in terra-cotta of Nicolò Fava, a philosopher and doctor who died

in 1439. The work is a poor imitation by an unknown hand of Jacopo della Quercia.

In front of the eighteenth chapel, where Giuseppe Mazza puts before us the story of Sta. Giuliana and S. Petronio administering the Blessed Sacrament to her, is the tomb of Alessandro Fava, killed in 1571 at the battle of Lepanto; his bust, by an unknown artist, stands above it.

We now come to the most interesting part, both historically and artistically, of the church—the Bentivoglio Chapel. This was founded in 1445 by Annibale Bentivoglio, and afterwards enlarged by Giovanni II., Lord of Bologna, on the occasion of his coming off victorious from the conspiracy of the Malvezzi family. He caused it to be decorated by two paintings in gouache showing the triumph of Life and Death by Lorenzo Costa in 1488, and the Apocalyptic Vision in the big lunette, restored later by Carlo Cignani, who added the nude figure of the shepherd and the Annunciation. The picture on the right represents Giovanni II. Bentivoglio and his family in prayer before the Virgin, while in a huge frame over the altar is one of Francesco Francia's masterpieces with the Madonna and Child, SS. Augustine, George, John and Sebastian, and two playing angels below. On the right wall, in high relief, is a statue of Annibale I. on horseback, wrongly attributed to Niccolò dall' Arca, with the date 1458. On the pilaster close by is a carved effigy in low relief of Giovanni II., and signed *Antonius Bal. annum agens XVIII.* The pavement should also be noticed; this is a beautiful work of hexagonal tiles, laid in 1489, with a white ground on which are lovely designs of leaves, implements, animals, symbolical figures, arms and other decorative ornaments similar to those already described

in the Chapel of St. Sebastian at S. Petronio. On the left of the altar is a large coat of arms of the Bentivoglio family. In front of this remarkable chapel, high up on the opposite wall, is the tomb of Antonio Bentivoglio, the father of Annibale. This tomb is a beautiful example of Jacopo della Quercia's work, and was executed by him in 1438 for the Vari family, of Ferrarese origin, but many of whose members had for more than a hundred years been lecturers at the University of Bologna. The Senate quarrelled with Jacopo for what they considered his shortcomings in regard to the work. They took over the monument and eventually sold it to Annibale Bentivoglio, who in his turn used it as a burial-place for his father. This is no doubt the reason why the carving on the tomb shows a master (probably one of the Vari family) lecturing to his pupils instead of the warrior and politician that we know Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio to have been.

The other numerous chapels need not detain us, though here and there are some interesting things to be seen, if time permits, such as works by the Carracci; an Institution of the Last Supper, by Federigo Baroccio; the Resurrection of Christ, by Lauretti (1574); a charming if somewhat faded picture by Cesi (Chapel 23) of the Madonna and several saints; and on the opposite wall a sixteenth-century crucifix in the manner of Simone. In the twenty-seventh chapel a St. Ursula with saints is a good painting by Biagio Pupini delle Lame. The choir-stalls are of the sixteenth century, and there is a large wooden crucifix of the fifteenth century.

Leaving the church by a door on the left, we come out into a most beautiful portico that Giovanni II. caused to be erected at the expense of

TOMB OF ANTONIO GALEAZZO BENTIVOGLIO

the public in 1477–81. The architect is unknown, but the lovely capitals and columns in terra-cotta are the work of Tomaso Filippi of Varignano. The cornice and frieze, said to be by Sperandio of Mantua, showing a classic head crowned with bays within a shell, are also very fine. In the portico, which runs the length of the church wall, are four frescoed niches and a tomb of the fourteenth century. Under the other niches, once frescoed but now walled up, are tombs with crosses on them, while at the end of the portico there is an open niche with a painting of the Holy Sepulchre signed by Giovanni di Ottonello, a Bolognese artist who lived at the close of the fourteenth century.

The Via Zamboni, in which S. Giacomo stands, boasts of some of the finest palaces in Bologna—those of the Malvezzi Campeggi family. They are three in number, and the beauty of the colonnades, of the façades, and the courtyards causes them to rank high among the architectural glories of the town. The one numbered "22 Via Zamboni" was built by Count Emilio Malvezzi in 1548, and Andrea Formigine is said to have designed the façade and courtyard. The statue of Hercules at the entrance is by Giuseppe Mazza.

In this same street, but adjoining the Church of St. James the Greater (No. 15), is the little disused Church of Sta. Cecilia, which should on no account be left out. Built in 1319 and rebuilt in 1336, it ceased to be used as a church in 1798. The vaulting is the work of Gaspare Nadi (1483), and the building underwent some alteration and restriction when the Bentivoglio Chapel was added to the Church of S. Giacomo Maggiore. The walls are covered with a series of ten beautiful frescoes recording the life and story of St. Cecilia and her

lover, S. Valeriano. These frescoes, painted by order of Giovanni II. Bentivoglio as a thank-offering, it is said, for deliverance from the terrible earthquakes that at the end of 1504 and early in 1505 killed many people and destroyed many houses and towers in Bologna, are the work of Francia, Costa, and three of their followers. These five artists, the leading ones of their day in Bologna, undertook two subjects apiece, each subject being placed one opposite the other on the walls. Beginning at the further end on the left from the door, we find: (1) The Marriage of St. Cecilia and S. Valeriano (the gem of the collection), by Francesco Francia; (2) St. Urbain, Pope, instructing S. Valeriano in the dogmas of the faith, by Lorenzo Costa; (3) The Baptism of S. Valeriano, by Cesare Tamarocci; (4) St. Cecilia and S. Valeriano crowned by an angel, by Gian Maria Chiodarolo (very beautiful); (5) Beheading of S. Valeriano and his brother Tiburzio, by Amico Aspertini.

On the right-hand side going towards the altar, we see (6) The burial of the two brothers, by Aimco Aspertini. (These two pictures by Aspertini are of an inferior order to the rest. The subjects are indistinct, overdone as to ornamentation, the faces common and flat, and the whole treatment approaching to vulgar.) (7) St. Cecilia disputing with the Prefect of Rome, by Chiodarolo—a painting with a lovely background, and where, as Ricci says, Chiodarolo most reveals himself as a pupil of Lorenzo Costa. (8) St. Cecilia placed in a boiling bath, by Tamarocci; (9) St. Cecilia distributing her wealth to the poor, by Lorenzo Costa; (10) Burial of St. Cecilia, by Francia.

The portico flanking the Church of S. Giacomo Maggiore, as well as that of Sta. Maria del Baraccano,

Via S. Stefano, both of extreme grace and beauty, owe their being to Giovanni II. Bentivoglio's love for his native town, and his encouragement of all that was high and refined in art.

The Via S. Vitale, which runs almost parallel with the Via Zamboni, contains likewise some extremely fine palaces. One of special interest to-day is at No. 28, which has lately been bought by Senator Guglielmo Marconi, himself a Bolognese; it belonged formerly to the Borghi family. On the opposite side, a little further up, is the big Palazzo Cloetta, formerly Fantuzzi and still bearing the arms of that old family—an elephant and castle—perhaps in connection with the name of "Elefantuzzi," a name by which this family is often spoken of in records and on memorial tablets. The architect was Andrea Formigine (1525), and the peculiar stately façade reconciles us to the otherwise ponderous character of the building. (Has the name and device—an elephant bearing a castle—any connection with the name evidently dear to more than one publican? And how are we to trace the link that bound a noble Bolognese family of the Cinquecento to the taverns of England?)

In this same street stands the church dedicated to Bologna's earliest martyrs, S. Vitale and S. Agricola, and known at first as "S. Vitale in Arena," from the arena which stood close by and was the scene of these martyrs' deaths early in the fourth century. The date of the foundation of the church is unknown, though it is vaguely held that it was consecrated by S. Petronio in the first half of the fifth century. A tomb of special interest stands outside the church and close to a highly ornamented door. It was erected by Mondino de'

Liuzzi, the famous anatomist, to his uncle Liuzzio de' Liuzzi, and is the only monument to a jurist of the great "Studio" that has never been removed from its original site. The carving is by Maestro Rossi of Parma, and bears his name and the date 1318. Mondino, who has been called the "father of anatomy," was himself buried here eight years later. The door leads into the Chapel of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, said to have been built by Gaspare Nadi (1483) and joined to the church in 1505. An altar-frontal in this chapel is ascribed to Francesco Francia, but according to Ricci the lower part only is by him, while on each side are two large pictures much the worse for damp and restoration; the one on the right, the Birth of Christ, is attributed to Francesco Francia's son Giacomo, the other, of the Visitation, being by Bagnacavallo. The graceful decorations of the "ancona" are by Formigine. The painting opposite has been foolishly ascribed to Perugino, but is probably by Chiodarolo. Among other objects of interest are an ancient marble cross, found in the street close by; a Holy Family, daintily wrought in wax by Angelo Piò; a good picture by Luigi Busi of the martyrdom of SS. Vitale and Agricola; and a fine example of Tiarini's work, "The Flight into Egypt."

In the last chapel a stairway on the left leads down to the crypt of the original Church of "S. Vitale in Arena," restored in such a way as to bring again to light the three original apses and the arches and pillars that once existed in the first building. These restorations are due to Canon Professore Luigi Breventani, and were brought about in 1891.

Further along the street is the "antica Porta di S. Vitale," which stood within the second circuit

of the old walls, and was sometimes called "Torresotto Rossi," as hard by is the Palazzo Rossi where a certain Cornelia Martinetti, a gentlewoman of the Romagna "famous for her beauty, her culture and wit," received the most celebrated artists and men of letters of her day — 1781–1867 — including Monti, Foscolo (who was enamoured of her), Canova, Leopardi, Giordani, Mezzofanti, King Louis of Bavaria, Byron, Brougham, Russell, Chateaubriand, Scribe and numerous others.

Leaving the Via S. Vitale by the Via S. Leonardo, and going down the Via S. Giacomo, we come again into the Via Zamboni close to where the present University stands. This building, though it may have but a relative interest for the stranger who spends but a few days in Bologna, cannot be passed over unnoticed, for it ranks among the first universities of Italy and is of much importance to the town. The façade of this vast palace (which the Bolognese Senate purchased in 1711 from the heirs of Cardinal Poggi) was designed by Pellegrino Tibaldi in 1549; the courtyard, with a Hercules in the middle modelled by Angelo Piò, is by Bartolommeo Triachini; and the tower of the observatory was built in 1725 by G. A. Torri. The Museum presented to the town by Count Luigi Ferd. Marsili was transferred here in 1714, and to this two important legacies of books and MSS. from the Aldrovandi and the Cospi families were added in 1740. The University comprises a school of anatomy, of philosophy and letters, of jurisprudence and science, medicine, surgery and agriculture. Above all is the "Biblioteca Universitaria" in which are ten halls over and above the "Aulo Magna," and in these some 350,000 volumes are stored, as well as 5000 valuable MSS. and many rare and costly

first editions, works of science and other subjects. There are a quantity of illuminated missals, breviaries, and "books of hours," a precious collection of town records, and Greek, Latin and Italian classics. There are, too, some interesting portraits, among them those of Laura Bassi, Luigi Galvani, Ulisse Aldrovandi, and Luigi Ferd. Marsili.

Retracing our steps along the Via Zamboni towards S. Giacomo Maggiore, we see immediately behind the church traces of the second circuit of the old city walls, brought to light and restored by the "Comitato per Bologna Storico-Artistica" in 1906.

To the right again stands the "Teatro Comunale" on the site of the Bentivoglio Palace, a site that went by the name of "Guasto," after the ruin and "waste" of that splendid building. The architect of the theatre was Antonio Bibiena. It was begun in 1756, and inaugurated in 1763 with "Il trionfo di Camillo," by Glück.

Between the Via Mazzini and the Via Guerrazzi stands "one of the loveliest," according to Corrado Ricci, "and one of the best preserved" churches of Bologna, the Church of Sta. Maria dei Servi. It was begun in 1383, the architect being Frate Andrea Manfredi, who was deputed seven years later to assist Antonio di Vincenzo in his designs for the Church of S. Petronio. There is more to admire outside than inside, for here the main feature is the portico to the left of the church, beautiful in its construction of wonderfully slender and graceful columns of Verona marble. It is the work of Manfredi, who died in 1396, and lies under a fine sepulchral slab in the church with his bust beside it. The fourteenth-century design of the portico was repeated in quadruple fashion round the front of the church, partly in 1797, and partly

in the first half of the following century, and is very lovely.

Inside the church are many chapels with numerous paintings, all of sacred subjects and many of them relating to the founder of the order of the Servites, the Blessed Filippo Benizi; with here and there a work of some merit. In Chapel V. there is a well-composed Paradise, by Dionisius Calvaert; in Chapel VII. a good Tiarini, of the Madonna in glory; another of his in Chapel XV. is St. Gioachin and St. Anna; and over the door he has a fine fresco of the birth of the Virgin.

In the Via Mazzini stands the big Palazzo Davia-Bargellini, known as that "of the Giants" from the two huge statues erect on each side of the entrance. A fine staircase by C. F. Dotti (1730) leads to the "Galleria dell' Opera Pia Davia-Bargellini," which consists of several fine rooms with collections of paintings of Bolognese masters, such as Passarotti, Bertusi, Fontana (father and daughter), Crespi, Pasinelli, Cittadini, Mastelletta, Samacchini and others. This street is rich in beautiful palaces, among them being the "Casa Isolani antica," one of the few remaining examples of the style of construction in vogue in Bologna in the thirteenth century. The woodwork both in doors and windows is very fine, and so is the central beam, which is of oak and supports the upper floor to a height of nine metres.

In this street is also the Palazzo Rizzoli, where Giosuè Carducci lived from 1876 to 1890, when he moved into the house provided for him by the care and generosity of Queen Margherita, who not only bought his library, which she presented to him, but who also secured for his use as long as

he lived this house, once the oratory and chapel of the "Compagnia di S. Maria della Pietà e di S. Barnaba," founded in 1503 and suppressed in 1798. After the poet's death Queen Margherita presented the house and the library to the town of Bologna, and the first floor now serves for the offices of the "R. Deputazione di Storia Patria" for the Province of the Romagna.

The Via Mazzini and the Via S. Stefano meet at the parting of the ways formed by the Mercanzia, a real architectural gem, which was the Custom House of the Commune from the year 1294, and served in later times for the sittings of the Chamber of Commerce. The date of its origin has been given as about 1380 to 1390, when for several years different master-masons from different parts of Italy gave proof of their ability in carving and construction; it was enlarged in 1439 on the south side; in 1484 it underwent vast and urgent repairs from the collapse of the Bianchi Tower, and finally in 1888–1890 it was given back to life and beauty under the gifted and guiding genius of Alfonso Rubbiani and his colleague Alfonso Tartarini.

Along the Via S. Stefano are some remarkable and interesting palaces, chief among them being Casa Tacconi, with some fine fluted terra-cotta pillars said to be the work of "Mastro" Fieravante Fieravanti, and the Salina-Amorini-Bolognini Palace, that was built in 1526, testifying all through to a master's hand, and probably designed by Formigine.

Close to these palaces is the little Piazza of S. Stefano in which stands without doubt one of the oldest and most interesting, and at the same time one of the most perplexing, churches of Bologna. It really consists of a group of churches

(the number claimed is seven, but that is by no means conclusive), built one against the other, opening out one from the other, each with a distinct history of its own, and no adequate relation of any of them being yet available, it is a hard matter to give a lucid or satisfactory account of these "seven churches."

The order in which they come is as follows: on the extreme left as we stand facing the block of buildings is (1) SS. Peter and Paul, the precursors of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter; (2) the "Calvary" (*Calvario* or *Sepolcro*) in the centre; (3) the Crucifix (*Crocifisso*) on the extreme right; (4) the Atrium, or "Cortile di Pilato," immediately out of the "Calvary"; beyond that again (5) the Trinity (*Trinità*), where marvellous works are in progress, and where numerous chapels and apses are taking on new shapes and new names; (6) the "Consolazione," formed by the closing in of two sides of the cloister; (7) the "Confessione," actually the crypt, under the Church of the "Crocifisso."

Taking them in this order we begin with SS. Peter and Paul, where over the central door is a statue of St. Peter of much later date than the rest of the building, and set up in imitation of the statue of S. Zeno in the magnificent church of that name at Verona. Some parts of this church—the oldest, it is claimed, of the "seven"—date from the fourth or even the third century. It is in the form of a basilica with three naves supported by alternate pilasters and marble columns, surmounted by square or Ionic capitals. On either side of the high altar stand the sarcophagi of S. Vitale and S. Agricola, Bologna's earliest martyrs, who were cruelly done to death in the persecution that raged against the Christians in the reign of Diocletian.

Their bodies remained here for several years after they had been rescued from the Jewish Cemetery into which they had been originally flung. Another tomb having on it in Hebrew characters the name "Simon" was also found near the tombs of the martyrs and gave rise to a strange legend. It was that the tomb was no other than that of the Prince of the Apostles, and consequently this could be no other than the old Cathedral Church of Bologna. This sufficed to call forth a series of miracles and "working of signs" that brought great scandal on the church and required an edict from Rome to stop them. The church was laid under an interdict and for a hundred years no services were held here. Pope Julius II. finally removed the ban, but in the meanwhile the bodies of S. Vitale and S. Agricola had been removed to the crypt of the church, where they remained till the sixteenth century, when by order of Cardinal Paleotti they were removed in 1578 to their final resting-place in the crypt of the Cathedral.

Behind the high altar is a group of painted wooden figures, carved out of the trunks of cedar of Lebanon trees, of the Adoration of the Magi, probably dating from the fourteenth century. There are a few frescoes in the church that time and damp and restorations have robbed of most of their beauty and value. The exterior of the church was remodelled in 1880–1885, when a strict adherence to old lines and old traditions was kept ever in sight, ending in the happiest results.

Two old monuments stand in the plot of excavated ground down the short flight of steps in front of the church; one, of the first half of the tenth century, being that of the Bolognese Bishop Theodoric, brought originally from Ravenna; the other, less

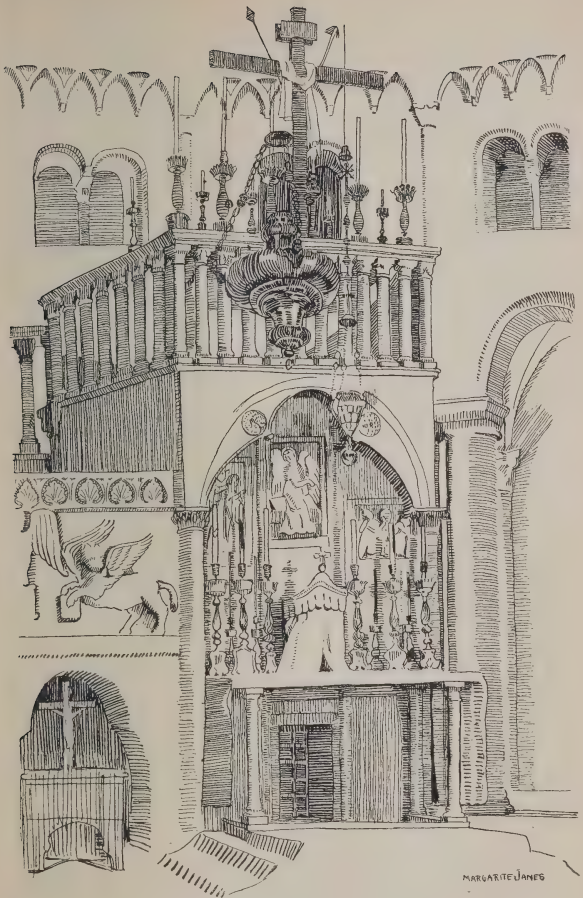
rough and of a later date, belonging to the Bertuccini family.

S. Stefano's central church, known as the "Calvary" (*Calvario*), is the one of most interest, and to which archæologists and historians have devoted untold study and research. For long it was considered only as the "Baptistery," adjoining the pseudo-"Cathedral" dating from the year 1000, and as such it passes in most of the guide-books. A far greater interest in reality attaches to it. For it can be proved that this was no other than a church built by S. Petronio from plans and measurements taken by him when on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and that it reproduces faithfully the plans of the churches built by Constantine. These churches were, in fact, three: the one that stood on the site where our Lord was crucified: the atrium or court which led to the garden of St. Joseph of Arimathea; and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, built in the said garden. The first of these three churches (counting the atrium as a church) that here in Bologna reproduce the three churches in Jerusalem is that of the "Calvary," built to reproduce and represent the one of the same name at Jerusalem, and often known and spoken of in early days as "Jerusalem." Under the high altar lies the body of S. Petronio, though his head—as has been said—is kept in the second chapel of the church that bears his name. Many of the pillars—once all of marble—are now reinforced by double pillars of brick, while the staircase leading up in pulpit fashion to the Cross on high is of comparatively recent date. The emblems of the four Evangelists, at present huddled into an awkward corner on the left facing the high altar, are to be removed in due time to a more appropriate

spot. The Pietà in this church is the work of Angelo Piò. So much in this church has been rearranged and restored—though in so perfect and conscientious a way as to allay all criticism and evoke only admiration—that the descriptions given in most of the guide-books no longer hold good, and so much is still in process of alteration and shifting that it is impossible to speak conclusively of what is still transitory, or describe for the traveller scenes that change from day to day or, to be more accurate, from year to year. Our admiration is unstinted for the enthusiasm of those Bolognese antiquarians whose dream is to restore the Church of S. Stefano to its former and pristine condition, and our envy is aroused over the excitement that is theirs every time a new discovery confirms them in some daring hypothesis, or when after diligent and unwearied researches some fresco, dating maybe from a period so remote as the tenth century, is brought to light.

The "Cortile di Pilato" opens out from the "Calvario," and corresponds to the atrium or court which led into Joseph of Arimathea's garden in Jerusalem of old. In the centre stands "Pilate's Basin," which is actually a marble basin on a pedestal, presented to the Cathedral Church by the Longobard kings Luitprand and Ilprand towards the middle of the eighth century, and placed here by Giovanni de' Medici (afterwards Pope Leo X.). Under the side arcades are doorways, chapels and frescoes of different styles and dates, sadly damaged by the hand of man and time, and not easy to ascribe precisely to the artists who worked here in past days.

Immediately beyond "Pilate's Courtyard" is the Church of the "Trinity," where for the moment



INTERIOR OF THE "CALVARY"

(1922) most important works and discoveries are going on. These excavations have brought to light the plan and building of a church that had for its original that of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; and the opening out of a series of chapels and apses, with their respective pillars and arches, is of an interest and wonder past all description. The actual date of this church can be proved in a manner as romantic as it is authentic, which the following facts serve to establish. A huge Roman sarcophagus has been lately found buried deep below the central altar, with slabs of magnificent granite, so massive and ponderous, as to defy at first all attempts to pierce the mystery as to who lay therein. By dint of continued and strenuous efforts the tomb was opened, and in it lay, on one side, the body of a Roman lady, embalmed with costly unguents, and swathed in cerements that proclaimed her of rich and noble estate. For some time no clue was forthcoming as to who she was, though it was evident that a piece of stone was missing from which perhaps some light could be thrown. And so it proved. For stowed away in part of the church which had been used as dwelling-rooms for a poor family, the missing slab was discovered, and on it was an all-important inscription stating that the lady's name was "Giulia," that she was only twenty-nine years old, the wife of a husband who idolised her, who had prepared for her a resting-place worthy of one so noble, so good, and that he only longed to be laid by her side. The place left for him was never filled — he never lay by her side! All this the archæologists discovered, but to make still more sure of their discoveries they submitted the body to doctors and chemists—not mentioning what the

inscription had revealed to them, and demanding only to know the result of a scientific diagnosis. The result more than confirmed their discoveries. The body was pronounced to be that of a rich Roman lady, seeing that the condiments used for her embalming were of a costly kind and could only lie within the means of the wealthy; that the age of the lady was between twenty-five and thirty, as she had not yet cut her wisdom-teeth, though there was but a slight fibrous covering still to be pierced ere they were through. Other documents proved that the body belonged to the fifth century, and the fact of its sepulchre in this spot served to confirm the date of the church as being of this same century.

Another fine massive Roman sarcophagus, fluted on the top and on the sides, is that of the "Blessed Giuliana de' Bansi," of the ancient family of that name. More chapels opening out behind the apse of the "Trinità" are those of the Bansi and of the "Martyrs" or *Martirium*, and all are in course of a full and scrupulous restoration, by means of which the "glory of the former temple" is to be given back to this mystical and beautiful building. Arches long since buried under heavy brickwork are now brought once more to light; traces of long-forgotten frescoes encourage and reward the searchers after bygone traditions; and the zeal and patience of the restorers of to-day can only be matched by the devotion and inspiration of the founders and builders of former days.

The sixth church, that of the "Consolazione," is formed, as has been said, by the closing in of the two sides of the cloisters, as though to add to the labyrinth already existing of places "where prayer was wont to be held." In it are some frescoes, a

shrine of the Renaissance period, and some coloured stucco work by Rossellino.

The seventh church, that of the "Confessione" or "Cripta," is underneath the Church of the "Crocifisso," and both buildings are now undergoing such radical modifications and changes that no account can as yet be given which will serve to enlighten the visitor who goes to see them.

Beyond these various churches and chapels are the cloisters, as lovely an example of "romanico" work as can be seen in the Emilia. The lower part dates from the eighth or ninth century; the upper part, formed of slender, graceful double columns with capitals bearing figures of monsters, beasts and crouching men on them, is of the early half of the thirteenth century.

Out of the Via S. Stefano, on a short sharp steep, stands the Church of S. Giovanni in Monte, wrongly ascribed to S. Petronio as its founder, whereas its actual date is 1060. It has undergone a series of alterations and additions, and up to the close of the eighteenth century it was under the rule of "Lateranensi" Canons, who were instituted here about 1117. The rising ground on which it stands is natural and not artificial, as has been sometimes surmised, for recent excavations show that the ground at a depth of not more than ten feet below the surface is composed of *tufo*, that natural formation—half rock, half sponge—that is found in so many parts of Italy. Donations of all kinds were showered upon the church from all quarters, from popes and emperors, bishops and archbishops, and private donors. We read of one Giacomo da Brattenora providing for an altar "to the Blessed Archangel Michael," and "to the Blessed

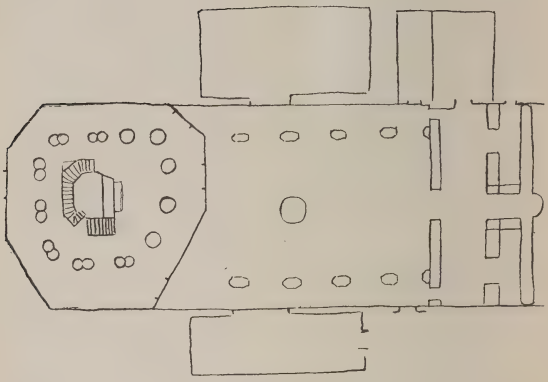
Martyr Thomas," and further endowing the church with an oliveyard, so that oil might never be wanting for replenishing the lights to burn continually on the altar of "the Blessed Michael." Other gifts and offerings consisted of wood, land, pieces of road, a boar, the annual present of a pig, corn, houses (one of these latter was casually entered as being "in ruins"), orchards, and other properties. Concessions were also granted to the fathers to construct a subterranean passage to facilitate their getting from their monastery to their possessions in the Via dei Chiari. A special gift was made on 22nd September, 1442, when the Bishop of Bologna licensed the Abbot of S. Stefano to give one of S. Petronio's bones to the fathers of S. Giovanni in Monte. Other relics were found in the renovations which took place in the church that same year, when they were placed with due care and reverence in the pilasters and a white cross marked where they were put.

Above the entrance door is an eagle in terracotta, the work of Niccolò dall' Arca. Eight octagonal pilasters divide the church into three naves, and the original aspect of the building remains much as it was in the fifteenth century. The rose window above the door contains glass designed by Francesco Cossa, of St. John at Patmos, and the same artist—whose cypher of "CaF" is to be seen in a white disc at the base—also designed the lower part of the window to the left of the door, showing the Madonna and Child, two angels, and the arms of the Gozzadini family. In the centre of the church is a "romanico" cross, fitted into a column which rests on a Roman capital reversed. The figure of our Lord has been ascribed alternately to Lombardi, to one Pietro Pavese, and to Nicolò

da Ferrara. There are some fairly interesting pictures here which need not, however, detain us until we come to the seventh chapel, where one of Lorenzo Costa's finest and best preserved paintings is to be seen. It represents the Madonna enthroned with SS. Augustine, Posidonio, John and Francis. Another large picture, also by Costa, is over the high altar, of God the Father and our Lord with the Blessed Virgin in the middle and several saints below. The twelfth chapel, known as that of St. Cecilia, contained originally Raphael's famous picture of the saint, now removed to the Pinacoteca. The frame in which this picture once hung, designed by Formigine, is still here amid some fine Bramantesque decoration. Here, too, is the sepulchre of the blessed Elena Duglioli dall' Olio, by whose order the chapel was built and the picture painted. The fourteenth chapel has a lovely tempera painting of the Madonna and Child and two praying angels, probably by one of Cossa's pupils. Chapel seventeen has a good St. Francis, and two pictures at the side by Guercino. Near the principal door is a monument to Giovanni Bolognetti, and one in the side atrium to the physician Giovanni Tostino (1427). The vast atrium which leads out into the Via S. Stefano was built in 1632–48 by the Blessed Basilio Oliva, and on its walls are placed several sepulchral slabs which were formerly in the pavement of the church. The old campanile should be noted.

The suppression of the Monastery of S. Giovanni in Monte came about 10th March, 1797. With the exception of the parish priests' house the whole locality was occupied by a special criminal tribunal and by prisons. When this tribunal came to an end the prisons for political offenders remained,

and an office for local police was set up. Guards and carabineers are now installed here, and their quarters extend to the little church of the "Madonna della Sanità" in the Via dei Chiari.



PLAN OF S. STEFANO

CHAPTER VIII

The Towers

THE towers of Bologna are so characteristic of the town itself that the history of one would be incomplete without the history of the other, and even if restricted space allows only of restricted treatment, some attention may well be claimed for a set of buildings so peculiar in their way, so typical of the city, and so important from the part they played in the lives and doings of their owners.

The love of erecting towers was very general in Italy in the Middle Ages, and can be well understood when we take into consideration the narrow bounds within which most mediæval cities were built; the limits imposed by the walls generally surrounding those cities; and the need for extra accommodation, whether as a refuge in time of war, or for warehousing arms and other necessities for which no space was to be found in the dwelling-house. Rome, Florence, Siena, San Geminiano, Ascoli, all possessed an immense number of towers, and if some chronicles are to be believed concerning Lucca, that small Tuscan town boasted no less than 700! But as Gozzadini justly remarks, it is one thing to quote a round number and another thing to prove it, and too heavy a call on one's faith is apt to endanger it. Bologna's figure was more modest, though it is pretty evident that at one time she possessed no less than 180, and that even thus the number is rather under- than over-stated.

The nobles, and the nobles alone, were at first allowed to build towers, and only those among them who were of the highest rank; but by degrees permission to build was extended to all the nobility, and when factions raged fiercely, to everyone who claimed kinship with them. At Bologna nearly all the towers were erected in the most restricted part of the town (only three or four stood outside the *antica cerchia*), with a very narrow space between each of them. In fact, the room between the two most famous ones, Garisenda and Asinella, is not more than eleven metres—less than thirty-six feet—and in others a good deal less. The height varied according to the wealth, the ambition, we might almost add the "swagger," of the owner. A great deal of family discussion and family good-will went towards the work of erection, for two members were chosen when a family "sat down" to build a tower, in order to decide on the site, the size and character of the edifice, and to ensure the upholding of the dignity and advantage of those concerned. All were to lend helping hands and all were to share in the possession of the house and tower, though should any one member need them for his own individual purposes the rest were not to offer any opposition.

In 1252, in order to reduce the danger and the quarrelling, which the height and the number of the towers engendered, a law was passed forbidding any citizen to inhabit a tower, or to keep ladders, at a height of more than fifteen *ponti*—roughly speaking, some twenty-one metres. Heavy fines and punishments were inflicted on all who threw stones, or shot arrows, or molested in any way the passers-by when no fighting was going on; and these punishments varied in different towns and in different

degrees, ranging from large payments of money to the loss of a hand or some other limb, and occasionally providing for the total demolition of the tower. The laws for demolishing the towers were really responsible for the disappearance of a very large number; some were swept away in process of time to make room for building churches, convents, public and private palaces; and more still were overthrown by earthquakes that often swept through Bologna and more than once threatened its very existence.

The principal towers still in existence are: La Garisenda, la Prendiparte, l'Azzoguidi, la Galluzzi, l'Uguzzoni, and the most famous and beautiful of all, l'Asinella, which figures so conspicuously in pictures and views of Bologna, and has been judged worthy to rank as a "Monumento Nazionale."

But though far and away the greater number of these towers may well be consigned to oblivion, around others there are touches of romance and interest belonging exclusively to the story of Bologna that cannot be wholly ignored. For instance, when writing of the Albari or Alberii, a family that in the twelfth century made a name for itself in all that related to law, arms, letters and politics, the historian Gozzadini tells with pride how the Commune of Bologna abolished slavery in 1257, "six centuries before America did the same, and that without public turmoils nor inciting to civil wars." [1] The number of slaves set free was well over 5000, and of that number the Albari owned 137. They were possessed of four towers, of which, however, few if any traces remain.

[1] Conte Giovanni Gozzadini, *Delle Torri Gentilizie di Bologna e delle famiglie alle quali prima appartennero*, p. 62. Bologna, Zanichelli, 1875.

The Alberico, or d'Alberighi, who dwelt near the Porta Ravegnana and owned two towers, were famous men of law and of medicine. Ugo, who as we have seen took part in the Diet of Roncaglia (1148), was one of the four jurists then entrusted by the Emperor Frederick to define the Imperial rights in Lombardy; he died in 1168, and was buried in the cloisters of the suburban Church of S. Vittore. A grandson of his, Amedeo, was one of the doctors called in to prescribe for King Enzo when he was dying, and was mentioned in the captive's will. In this will the King entreats the Commune of Bologna "to have compassion on his woes, not to heed the expenses that his sickness entailed, but to reward the honesty of the physicians who had ministered to him, Taddeo, Paolo, Bartolo, Pellegrino, Amedeo (Alberici), and Alessio." Gozzadini not inaptly adds: "Poor Enzo, what a bevy of doctors!"[1]

One of the most illustrious families in Bologna was that of the Andalò, whose tower stood in the Via Farini at the corner of Via S. Mamolo. It was one of this family, Loderingo, who founded the order of the *Frati Gaudenti*, an order originally of a religious and chivalrous nature, instituted for the protection of the weak and defenceless, to do good and to adjust differences. The *Frati*, whose proud title was once *militi di Maria Vergine gloriosa*, degenerated, however, into mere lovers of pleasure, who led dissolute and abandoned lives, and are placed by Dante among the hypocrites (*Inferno*, canto xxiii.) and condemned for their evil deeds to everlasting contumely.

The Ariosti, or Riosti, again, were a distinguished family: some of them, Aldobrandino and Nicolò,

[1] Gozzadini, *Op. cit.* pp. 62, 68.

were crusaders; Bonaventura and Pietro died soldiers' deaths, and whether as jurists, priests, bishops, archbishops or warriors, they played an important part in their town's history. Their houses and tower stood near the Cathedral, but the tower was cut down more than once, and was considerably damaged in the fearful earthquake of 1505.

The harm done by the towers at various epochs was often of a serious nature, and we read of one owned by the Artenesi family, and situate close to the Asinella, crashing down in 1201, killing thirty-seven persons in its fall, among them Pietro Asinelli and his wife, who were in bed at the time. The trunk of this one, standing some twenty-three metres high, can still be seen in the Via Strazzerie, and inclines slightly to the east.

The beauty and historical interest of the Asinella tower demands special attention, for it ranks among Bologna's most striking monuments, and is a landmark of exceptional grace and loveliness. It is said to have been erected at the end of the twelfth century by the Pietro Asinelli whose name appears frequently in the records and documents of the town, and who Gozzadini rightly remarks can have been wanting neither in riches nor in pride, nor, we might add, in an eye for beauty. The Asinelli as a race proved themselves good and efficient citizens: they filled numerous posts as magistrates, diplomats, ambassadors, crusaders; they "kept their hand in" by joining heart and soul in the tumults and brawls of the city, and in common with all the great families of those days they had their pet adversaries with whom a blood-feud lasted from generation to generation. At the close of the sixteenth century one of the windows of the tower,

giving on to the Strada Maggiore, presented the gruesome but by no means unwonted spectacle of a large wooden cage with a dead priest inside.[1] This tower, built in 1109 (some records say 1111, 1117, 1119), underwent frequent repairs, needed on account of the damage done by lightning, and it was not till 1824 that this danger was minimised by the placing of a lightning conductor. It speaks well for its marvellous construction that the earthquake of 1505 left it unscathed, a fact that excited the surprise and delight of those who lived through that awful ordeal and saw so many of Bologna's finest towers and buildings levelled to the ground.

Very careful measurements have been taken at different times to determine exactly the inclination of the tower, which show that it amounts to very little over a metre (*i.e.* thirty-nine inches); and equally careful are the measures taken to see if this inclination increases, or in any way threatens the safety of the tower itself or of those who pass under it. The conclusions are most satisfactory, for all point to the fact that the inclination dates from the period when the tower was built, or very soon after, and has in no way increased since those times.

The slender grace and beauty of this tower must be seen to be appreciated, and whether in the mist of an early autumn morning or in the clear light of a full moon in June the wonder and elegance of the building cannot fail to strike every traveller and to

[1] This form of torture and punishment, always reserved for priests, was much in vogue in mediæval times, and in the cage (*gabbia*) the wretched criminal spent months or years, or even his life, according to the extent of his iniquity.

thrill the heart of every Bolognese with pride and affection.

Another of the principal remaining towers is that of the Azzoguidi, which for beauty and symmetry and construction rivals that of Prendiparte, though of course both are surpassed by the Asinella. It stands at the corner of the Via Venezia and the Via Altabella, and often goes by this latter name—Altabella. This tower, formerly one of the most beautiful in Bologna, has been sadly cut down and spoilt, and stands shorn of its glory and very different now from what it once was.

It must not be supposed for a moment that the nobles of Bologna were exclusively the law-abiding exemplary citizens that so far have come under our notice. They were, on the contrary, as violent and rapacious as the marauding barons of other lands, and a street brawl or a hill foray aroused their fighting instincts to the full. Prominent among these were the Baragazzi, who from their strongholds in the Bolognese Apennines swept down on luckless travellers and traders, and resisted every effort made by the officers of law to defeat their evil practices. They owned a tower in the Via Maggiore, and early in the sixteenth century had a house near the Church of S. Michele, which in later and more peaceful times was inhabited by the composer Rossini.

An equally riotous lot were the Basacomare, "of high and noble lineage," keen fighters and only too ready to engage in any wars or brawls that came their way. They went to the Crusades, more than once they fought in Italy, and one of them, a certain Giovanni, fought valiantly with Dante under the Guelph banner at the battle of Campaldino (1289). Their tower, which stood originally in the

Via Maggiore, is said to have been of unwonted proportions, but the small part still remaining by no means bears out such a supposition.

Another family, that of the Bansi, whose tower was in the same street as that of the two last-named families, the Via Maggiore, claimed distinction in a widely different direction, for from them is said to have sprung the saintly Giuliana who lived in the fourth century, and whose descendants remain to this day.

For a family like the Bentivoglio, to whom the King of Naples granted the right to bear the name and quarter the arms of Aragon (a right which they exercise to this day), who coined their own money,[1] and on whom every State in Italy lavished honours and distinctions of the highest degree, it may well be imagined that no ordinary tower would suffice. And so indeed it proved. For when in 1488 Giovanni II. resolved to erect his tower the whole town was called on to take part in the proceedings. The astrologers and soothsayers (whose word counted for so much in those days) were first consulted as to a propitious spot, a favourable day and hour were then selected, and on 18th January, 1489, with great pomp and ceremony Giovanni laid the first stone. His four sons, Annibale, Antonio Galeazzo, Alessandro and Ermote, in turn laid other stones, and then in each corner earthenware vases were placed filled with gold, silver and bronze coins on which were stamped inscriptions and Giovanni's coat of arms. After six years the

[1] Among the monies coined by this princely family was a gold ducat (now extremely rare) of Giovanni I., while by an Imperial concession Giovanni II. coined a great deal of money, some of it said to have been designed by Francesco Francia.

tower was finished in October 1495, and from all accounts it must have been one of the finest and biggest in Bologna, its height being only surpassed by the Asinella. The lower part contained a well, storehouses for provisions, ammunition and arms. The entrance was up aloft by means of a drawbridge across the Via Castagnoli, and so communicated with the palace which itself stood in that street. It was divided into seven floors, all vaulted and containing "fine rooms" (*magnifiche stanze*). On the top was a bell-chamber where a great bell hung, bearing on it an effigy of Giovanni II. together with some saints. On the exterior of the bell-chamber and all round it were carved, gilded and painted the arms and devices of the various families who had intermarried with the Bentivogli: Visconti, Sforza, Gonzaga, Este, Malatesta, Manfredi, Torelli, Rangoni, Pio, Orsini, all intertwined with the Bentivogliesca badge, a saw (*sega*). Pictures painted by Costa and Francia, which called forth the praises and admiration of Raphael, adorned the walls, and all that made for beauty and stood for comfort in those days was to be found in the tower. Its fate, however, was not a lucky one. It was struck by lightning shortly after it was completed, and a great steel mirror that hung in Giovanni's sitting-room was flung down and smashed to atoms, and probably he owed his life to the fact that he was in bed at the moment laid low by an attack of gout. The damage done by lightning was increased by the earthquake of 1505, when the tower inclined in so threatening a manner over the palace that Ginevra, Giovanni's wife, left the house and sought safety in the convent of the Clares, vowing she would not return till her husband had lowered the tower to a safe height.

Giovanni, who was in all things swayed by his imperious wife, did as she wished; more than half the tower was dismantled, and after forty days Ginevra returned home. The following year came the overthrow of the House of Bentivoglio, and what little remained of the tower was finally disposed of when in the thirteenth century the Malvezzi altered and enlarged the front of their house.

The silk trade was brought from Lucca to Bologna in the eighteenth century by the Bolognini, who developed the industry so successfully that they acquired immense wealth and were admitted to high positions in the Senate and in the town. They entertained kings and popes on a lordly scale; they owned no less than four towers (three of them near the Church of S. Stefano), and were eminent also as students of law, anatomy and science.

Another tower in the Via Maggiore belonged to the Bottrigari, a family of distinction in Bologna whether as statesmen or lawyers or warriors—Lamberto Bottrigari was one of the three who took King Enzo prisoner at the battle of Fossalta (1249), and another, Delfino, fought at Campaldino (1289).

The Bulgari were an ancient family noted especially for their learning, whose most famous member was the one so often spoken of as taking part in the Diet of Roncaglia (1158) and was known as *os aureum*. The houses owned by them were burnt by their hereditary foes the Garisendi, but their tower, now built over the Archiginnasio, remained for some years and stood to the left of the Cortile.

Two other great families, owners of palaces and towers, have been branded to all posterity by Dante in the *Inferno*, where Catalino Catalini, one of the original founders of the *Frati Gaudenti*, is condemned in canto xxiii., and the Caccianemici in canto

xviii., for their greed of money and the iniquities they and other Bolognese nobles resorted to in order to obtain it.

Others of these tower-owning lords were the Conforti, who did not always act up to their name, for they managed to put to death three sons of their sworn foe, Antonio Galluzzi, by presenting them with a dish of poisoned figs. A kindlier representative of the family was Baldassare Conforti, a professor of philosophy, surgery and medicine, who in 1382 was deputed to minister to the victims of the plague then raging in Bologna. For that and the following year this plague continued, and one person in every three died in spite of Baldassare effecting what are spoken of as "cure miracolose."

The history of the towers is of use in confirming the theory that the greater part of the city was originally built of wood, and that the towers played an important part in the frequent conflagrations that occurred in Bologna. For in those days the only expedient known or resorted to for preventing the spread of fire was to pull down the adjoining buildings by means of ropes and pulleys fastened to the houses near by, and so leave a clear space for the fire to burn itself out. The difficulty of fixing these ropes was very great and could only be accomplished at considerable risk, but we read how in 1299, when a fire broke out in the Via Maggiore (a street packed with towers), one "Maestro Jacopo" climbed the Centucci's tower, and from there fastened the ropes on to the house of the "Frate Gaudente" Geremia Arienti, a feat for which he received forty *scudi*. A similar sum was paid on the same occasion and for a similar feat to one Michele.

The Conoscenti were another great family who

possessed a tower, but far finer than their tower was the palace built by Alberto Conoscenti in 1350 of wood and brick. It stands almost untouched in its original beauty at the corner of Galliera and Via Porta Castello. Of ogival architecture, it has majolica plaques set over each window—a form of decoration to be found in some of the churches (as at S. Francesco), but unknown save for this one exception in a private house. The palace passed through different hands, but in 1505, at the time of the great earthquake, it was inhabited by Bartolommeo Ghisilardi, secretary of the Senate, whose bedroom was actually in the tower. He was asleep when part of the tower crashed down, and only woke to be aware that some fragments of brick and rubble had fallen on his bed. When he learnt, however, of his narrow escape he was so terrified that he died a few days afterwards from sheer fright.

The Foscarini family, also owners of towers, boasted among their members the jurisconsult Egidio Foscarini, a man of great weight in all affairs of State, and the first layman to explain the *jus canonicum* in the Bolognese schools. His learning and sagacity were such that he was frequently called upon to arbitrate in quarrels and strife at home and abroad, and one of his special triumphs was the peace he brought about in 1285 between the Algardi and the Pepoli factions. He had three wives, the last being Ghisella, daughter of Giovanni Pepoli, whom he married when he was well advanced in years, while she was only fourteen. He died in 1289 and was decreed a public funeral. His monument, already alluded to, stands in a corner of the Piazza S. Domenico, with the lovely decorations in the arch of peacocks and roses which belong to early Christian times. Another, Fra

Egidio Foscarini, Bishop of Modena, made a name for himself both as to learning and doctrine at the Council of Trent (1547), and was also famed for his generosity in the giving of alms. He even sold his episcopal ring and pastoral staff to give to the poor, and he kept so little for himself that when travelling from Modena to Trent all his possessions were carried by a pack-horse that paced slowly behind him as he trudged on foot, his servant sitting astride a mule. The family became extinct in 1743 in the person of one Anna, a nun.

The tower of the Galluzzi is one of the six principal examples remaining in Bologna, and stands in the court of the same name on the west side of the Piazza Galvani. Its walls of over three metres in width were far thicker than those of the Asinella, and would seem to have been intended to exceed it also in height. The tower, however, never attained to more than over nine feet; while half-way up its walls is an ogival window, the only one of the sort extant in any of the towers. The Galluzzi were a rich and powerful family, possessors of numerous houses and of a second tower known as "la torre Vecchia." But they were a turbulent lot, even the clergy among them being keen combatants, and on many points and occasions they were to be found fighting in the streets for the honour of their cause, mixed up in every plot, every murder, every riot of the times. In consequence, they were fined or their houses confiscated or sold. Their old tower was demolished, and nothing but their name remains to bear witness to their former greatness.

Another of the six great towers, La Garisenda, was built at the same time as the Asinella by Filippo and Oddo Garisendi on their return from the Crusades. The truncated leaning building is

as ugly as its companion is beautiful, but for interest and association both hold the same rank, and the mention by Dante of the Garisenda gives it perhaps an importance to which its neighbour cannot aspire. Dante was a student at Bologna from 1304 to 1306, and his keen observant eye must often have noticed the two towers side by side, one so erect and graceful in spite of its slight inclination, the other so ungainly and crooked, and looking at every moment as though it must fall over. At the time of Dante it was much loftier than it is now, but some thirty-five years after his death it was cut down by the order of Giovanni di Oleggio, who reigned and "tyrannised proudly" in Bologna from 1351 to 1360. It is now certain that the excessive incline, which gives the tower such an awkward, unsightly effect, is due to the subsidence of the soil, and that the idea once held that it was so designed by its constructors is erroneous. "It is certain," says Ricci,[1] "that early in the fourteenth century the tower leant as it leans to-day, since Dante chose its crooked bent for a happy comparison" (when he likened the bending down of the giant Antæus to lift him and Virgil up so as to carry them down on to the frozen surface of Cocytus at the bottom of the pit to the leaning tower in Bologna).

> Quale pare a riguardar la Carisenda
> Sotto il chinato, quando un nuvol vada
> Sovr' essa si, che ella incontro penda,
> Tal parve Anteo a me che stava a bada
> Di vederlo chinare, e fu tal ora
> Ch' io avrei voluto ir per altra strada.[2]

[1] Corrado Ricci, *Guida di Bologna*, p. 103.

[2] *Inferno*, canto xxxi., v. 136. The Honourable W. W. Vernon in his *Readings on the "Inferno" of Dante*, vol. ii. p. 556, explains the whole scene in the following

The tower is also known as "la torre mozza," or "the maimed tower," and might almost be said to symbolise Bologna, so frequently is it reproduced in the guide-books and all works of art and architecture relating to the city.

The glamour and glory of the Crusades did not pass unfelt in Bologna; Guelph and Ghibelline alike agreed to sink their rivalries for the time being, and on Christmas Eve 1217 they both took the oath before Bishop Enrico della Fratta, and swore to embark for the Holy Land. The Ghibellines chose as their leader Bonifacio de' Lambertacci, the Guelphs chose Baruffaldino Geremei; and from that day forth the surnames of these two leaders became the battle-cry of the two hosts, and was by them passed on when they returned to their respective factions at home. Both these families owned towers, but though they may be distinguished in old drawings of the city, their traces have disappeared and only a vague surmise now suggests where they once were.

Dante for once has a good word to say for a Bolognese in the person of Fabero, or Fabrizio de' Lambertacci, to whom he alludes in the *Purgatorio* (canto xiv., v. 100), and also in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, where he again extols Fabrizio's honesty.[1]

words: "Antæus, having taken up the poets in his hands, now bows his immense body, and as Dante looks up at the huge monster bending over him, he is reminded of a phenomenon that may not infrequently be seen by any person who has been either at Bologna or Pisa. For if one stands under one of the leaning towers with its inclined side towering above one, should a cloud pass over the summit going the opposite way the tower seems to totter as though about to fall."

[1] "Fabritius, Honestus et alii poetantes Bononia qui doctores fuerunt illustres et vulgarium discretione repleti," lib. i. chap. 15.

The great Italian family of the Lodovisi hailed from Bologna, though their greatness was more centred in Rome than in their native town. At Rome Alessandro Lodovisi became Pope as Gregory XV. (1621), and there he and his family accumulated riches to a fabulous extent. It was this Pope who built the Villa Lodovisi with the famous "Aurora" by Guercino, who enrolled the French Richelieu among his Cardinals, and whose brief papacy was fully occupied in founding institutions and benefices which brought in immense emoluments to him and to his various relations. Besides their own tower situate between the Via Roma and the Via Venezia, they owned at one time the Torre Uguzzoni, one of the best known of the towers still standing, and one of the most picturesque from the mediæval point of view. It is in the Via Cavaliera, adjoining the Via Mandria and S. Giobbe, a relic of the days when a fortress was more needed than a palace, stern, gloomy and suggestive of great strength and resistance, a veritable "house of defence set on high."

The strangeness of the surnames of the Bolognese nobles, that must strike all who are conversant with their story, recurs often and very aptly among the owners of the towers. One example will suffice in the family of the Sensarasone ("senseless," or "without reason"), whose tower was generally known as "Torre Malpaga" because it served as a prison for debtors—evil payers in very sooth!

Another of the most renowned towers is that of the Prendiparte, known also as "La Coronata," which rises majestically behind the Bishop's palace in the little Campo di S. Sinesio. It passed through various hands, for the Prendiparte sold it at the end of the Quattrocento to the Fabruzzi; they

TORRE PRENDIPARTE

parted with it to the Seccadenari, who in their turn sold it with some adjoining houses to the See of Bologna. This was in 1538, and eventually it served as a prison-house for ecclesiastical offenders, and was used as such down to 1796. Gozzadini, writing in 1875, speaks of it as still retaining all its character as a prison, of its horrible and restricted accommodation, and of having himself seen numerous inscriptions scratched on the walls by the victims, some alluding to the time spent in durance vile, others recording the crimes that brought them to such a *misera condicione*.

This tower ranks second in height among the remaining towers of Bologna, and would probably have overtopped even l'Asinella, had it not been cut down at some period.

The two remarkable palaces belonging to the Pepoli family and standing in the Via Castiglione witness to the opulence and importance of their former lords. The first of these, known as "Palazzo Pepoli Antico," was begun by Taddeo Pepoli in 1345, and consists of a vast turreted building with four great entrance doors, all elaborately adorned with terra-cotta decorations, while of a later date are the majolica chessboards (the badge of the Pepoli family) set in the walls; inside is a perfect labyrinth of courtyards, staircases, corridors, now the property of the Commune. The principal Pepoli tower, part of which still exists, stood at the meeting of the Via Castiglione and the Via S. Stefano.

The Pepoli took a leading part in their town's history, being keen supporters of the Geremei, or Guelph faction, as opposed to the Lambertacci, or Ghibelline faction. From their badge of a chessboard (*scacchiera*) their followers took the name of "Scacchesi," and worked hard in the thirteenth

century to gain the sovereignty of the town for their head, Romeo Pepoli. The plot failed, and Romeo, who by bribery had won to his cause most of the worst elements in the town, was forced to fly. He and his five sons escaped with their lives by riding off post-haste from their house, flinging handfuls of gold to their pursuers.

Romeo's son, Taddeo, ruled as Lord of Bologna for eleven years, and is remembered as a wise and beneficent ruler. He coined money in his own name, without, however, adding any title as to lord or ruler, and these coins were known as *pepolesche*. Like Joseph of old in Egypt, he foresaw the oncoming years of scarcity that culminated in 1347 in a famine, and made provision for his country-people by laying in supplies of corn from Sicily. He died in this year (1347), having won not only the gratitude of the Bolognese but also the admiration of foreign States for his administrative dealings with them. His fine tomb of white and black chequered marble (carrying out the armorial bearings of his house) in S. Domenico shows in two bas-reliefs (probably fourteenth-century work) his election to the Council and his investiture by the Pope when he was appointed "Vicario della Chiesa," an office he held for three years.

The study of the towers brings also before us touches of the home life of their owners in those far-away days. For instance, we learn how in the Quattrocento one Giovanni di San Giorgio (the same family to which Guglielmino, one of King Enzo's doctors, belonged and whom he remembered in his will only two days before his death on 15th March, 1272) was a distinguished jurist of canon law, which he taught first in Bologna and then in Padua, where he and his wife retired in 1347 to

escape the plague[1] then raging throughout Italy. Here Giovanni's wife, Bettina, died, a woman of singular ability and learning, who had qualified as a teacher of Greek and Latin, and who took her husband's place and occupied his chair whenever sickness or any other engagement prevented him from so doing. The tower of the San Giorgio adjoined the Church of S. Donato, and from the Via Canonica di S. Donato the lopped remains can still be seen some two metres above the roofs of the houses, and are now used as a terrace.

[1] It was this plague that prompted Boccaccio's writing of the *Decameron*.

DESIGN ON FOSCARINI'S TOMB IN PIAZZA S. DOMENICO

CHAPTER IX

S. Domenico—S. Procolo—Palazzo Bevilacqua—Corpus Domini—Sta. Caterina de' Vigri

BOLOGNA may well be proud of the fact that the two greatest saints of mediæval times trod her streets and preached to her citizens, for here St. Dominic and St. Francis lived and worked, and here St. Dominic died and was buried. These great and godly men, of whom Dante speaks in the *Paradiso* (cantos xi. and xii.), where he tells how one, St. Francis, "was all seraphic in fervency" (*l'uno fu tutto serafico in ardore*), while the other, St. Dominic, "for wisdom was on earth a splendour of cherubic light" (*l'altro per sapienza fue di cherubica luce uno splendore*), were almost contemporaries, St. Dominic being born at Calaroga in Old Castile in 1170, while St. Francis was born at Assisi in 1182. St. Dominic belonged to the noble Spanish family of Guzman, and, unlike St. Francis, was destined for the Church from his earliest years. The story is well known of how shortly before his birth his mother dreamed that the child she was about to bear appeared in the shape of a dog holding a lighted torch in its mouth, and fled forth from her to set the whole world on fire. Perplexed as to what this might portend, the expectant mother went often to pray for consolation and enlightenment at the tomb of a saintly abbot of the monastery of Silo Domenico near Calaroga, and from the comfort she there received she called her son Domenico. The explanation of

the dream was further worked out in the arms of the Dominican Order, for the dog she had seen was black and white, and black and white were to be the colours of the habit worn by the friars; while the name "Dominicani" was a play on the words "Domini Canes," the "hounds of the Lord." Another dream which was dreamed after his baptism by the baby's grandmother was that she saw him with one star upon his forehead (as is frequently shown in pictures of the saint) and one upon the nape of his neck, signifying the illumination that both the East and the West would receive from his doctrine.

St. Dominic came to Bologna in 1218, after his plans for founding a new order, in which preaching was to bear the principal part, had taken shape, and had been sanctioned and approved by the Pope, Honorius III. Dominic had travelled far and wide, and his wanderings in France had brought him up against the "heresy"—as it was to him—of the Albigenses, against whom he waged a cruel exterminating war. He was as Dante says of him, "to his foes pitiless" (*ai nemici crudo*), and for such doctrines and beliefs he had neither sympathy nor mercy. On the other hand this "holy athlete" was "merciful to his own" (*benigno ai suoi*), and this benignity was manifested towards Bologna in that he despatched two of his followers, Fra Giovanni Spagnuolo and Fra Beltrando, to found a branch of his order, and make ready for his coming to establish it. The brothers settled themselves in the little Church of Sta. Maria della Purificazione or della Mascarella in the street of the same name, and there before the end of the year St. Dominic joined them. Here for three years he lived—so the story goes—in a cell, known to this day as the

"celletta di San Domenico," and here too on the walls of the old refectory an inferior painting records the miracle performed by the saint whereby loaves were brought by angel hands to the brothers when their supply of bread had failed.

The order spread rapidly in Bologna, and more space was soon required in which to lodge the brethren than their first quarters could provide. This was easily accomplished through the help of the Andalò family, who ceded some land near the old Church of San Niccolò delle Vigne to the Blessed Reginald—the Vicar of the Order—who was also presented with an adjoining strip of ground by the Benedictines of S. Bartolommeo *alle mure*. This land lay in the little square of Piazza Galileo, one of the most picturesque in Bologna from its irregular shape and from the columns and monuments which adorn it. The large tomb—on the lines of the Glossologists at S. Francesco—is that of the famous jurisconsult and statesman Rolandino Passaggeri, and here he was buried in 1300 together with five others of the "Guild of Notaries." The pyramidal cover is supported by nine columns, and the monument has often and often undergone restoration. The humbler tomb is that of Egidio Foscarini, mentioned on pp. 162 and 171, in which enamelled tiles form part of the decoration together with a kind of Byzantine arch adorned with some attractive peacocks that once belonged to the baldachino of an altar.

On one of the columns stands a statue in copper of St. Dominic, cast in Milan and placed here in 1627; on the other is Our Lady of the Rosary, executed in 1633 by G. C. Correnti.

It was amid such surroundings that in 1218 the Preaching Friars set to work to build their new

premises. They retained much of the old building —the whole of the façade among other things— and for a while the old name was retained too.

On entering the church and on the interior of the door are some statues by Giuseppe Mazza, and on the wall are some paintings much touched up and of no special merit. In the first chapel on the right (not always easy to see on account of the light) is one of Lippo di Dalmasio's best works, the "Madonna del Velluto."

The sixth chapel on this same side is the one to command and arrest our time and attention, for in it stands the magnificent sarcophagus in which rest the mortal remains of St. Dominic, and surely no one, of whatever race or religion he may be, can stand unmoved before such a shrine, or without experiencing a wave of deep emotion at finding himself beside the mortal remains of one who, whatever his faults and failings may have been, has yet come down to posterity as a great man and a great saint. St. Dominic died in Bologna, on 6th August, 1221, in one of the cells of S. Niccolò delle Vigne and in the presence of many of the brethren. In 1267 Nicolò Pisano was commissioned to raise to his memory a monument which should not only be a beautiful work of art in itself, but should also record for all time the chief events in the great preacher's life. He was assisted in the work by Fra Guglielmo and other of his pupils of the Pisan School. According to Ricci most of the bas-relief work is by Nicolò Pisano, but some of the panels he admits are of a different quality, and for this his pupils may have been responsible.

The first panel shows on the left the saint raising to life the young Napoleone Orsini, who had been killed by a fall from his horse, and restoring him

to his mother. In the second we have the "Trial by Fire," when the heretical books of the Albigenses are consumed in the flames and those of St. Dominic remain unharmed. The three graceful figures on the right and on the left in rich apparel represent the heretics; seated above the fire is the judge; below a child blows up the fire with a pair of bellows. The Madonna and Child in the centre is a charming type of the Pisan School. The side panels are good but not equal to those just described, and it is probable that Niccolò may have designed them and left his pupils to complete the work. In one the saint receives the gospel from St. Peter and St. Paul and hands it to his monks to spread abroad through the world. In the other is the miracle of St. Dominic when the angels bring bread to the starving brotherhood. The panels at the back—six in number—are altogether inferior, and are thought to be by Fra Guglielmo. The figures are hard and large, the limbs coarse and awkward, the heads flat and common. The first panel shows the Blessed Reginald seized with sudden illness and falling into the arms of a young man. (2) The Madonna and the Magdalen succour and restore him, and invite him to put on the Dominican habit. (3) The Blessed Reginald takes the vows. (4) Innocent III. sees in a dream St. Dominic upholding the ruined Church of St. John Lateran. (5) Honorius III. examines the Dominican rule. (6) The confirmation of the rule by the same Pontiff. Between the two back panels and at the angles of the sarcophagus are statues of Our Lord and the four Doctors of the Church.

The saint's first resting-place was behind the high altar, in a narrow and humble place in no way worthy, as his followers maintained, of so fine

TOMB OF ST. DOMINIC IN THE CHURCH OF S. DOMENICO

a monument nor of him who lay therein. The whole thing must be moved to a larger and more dignified spot; so in 1374 the foundations were laid for a chapel of wider dimensions; in 1411 the work was finished, and the body moved into it the same year. Enough, however, had not been done. A more costly covering than the existing one was made of marble, and the architect Floriano Ambrosini in 1596 embellished it still more. Before this, however, a wooden pinnacle which had been placed on the top was replaced by one in marble carved by Niccolò da Puglia (1469–73), who according to Vasari was ever after known as "maestro Niccolò dall' Arca," in honour of this beautiful "Arca" or chest which he had made. He too was the author of the festoons with the *putti*, of the statue of God the Father on the apex, of the *Ecce Homo* with the two Angels, of the four Prophets, and of the guardian saints of the town—Dominic, Francis, Florian, Vitale and Agricola—together with the kneeling angel holding a candle on the left-hand side. The next on the right and the figures of S. Petronio and S. Procolo are by Michelangelo. The St. John Baptist is by Girolamo Cortellini (1508). The panels of the marble slab supporting the sarcophagus are by Alfonso Lombardi (1532). The grace of outline of the whole composition is wonderfully beautiful; the perfect symmetry, the dignity of the figures, the festoons with the ecstatic boys standing under them, the marvellous sense of proportion preserved throughout—all betoken a master's hand and satisfy eye and intellect alike.

The altar, of later and inferior work, was designed by Mauro Tesi and Carlo Bianconi, and executed by Alessandro Salvolini and the pupils of G. B. Boudard of Parma in 1768. The dome of the

chapel shows some of Guido Reni's finest fresco work. The subject is St. Dominic received in heaven by our Lord and the Madonna, the painting being done between 1613 and 1615. The big picture on the wall on the left is by Mastelletta, a rider killed by his horse and restored to life by the saint; on the opposite side is also a good painting by Leonello Spada of St. Dominic burning the heretics' books in their presence. On the same side the saint is shown saving a ship's crew from a storm at sea. Here too is a very fine picture by Alessandro Tiarini of a dead babe restored to life by St. Dominic, where the mother's face changing from tears to smiles and the outstretched arms of the child are most beautifully rendered.

The rest of the decorative work in the cupola and on the pendentives is by Mastelletta (also called Donducci), Alessandro Albini, and Clemente Alberi.

Leaving the next few chapels we pass to the sacristy through a door of inlaid wood by Fra Bernardino, over which is a bronze bust of Lodovico Bolognini by Girolamo Cortellini.[1] On the right is a Pietà by Sebastiano Sarti, surnamed Rodellone, and on the left a striking bust of St. Dominic in coloured terra-cotta, modelled by Niccolò dall' Arca (1493), and one of the last works of this great master.

The inlaid work of the smaller cupboards is by Fra Damiano of Bergamo and is very fine. The larger cupboards, used for storing vestments and linen, are also fine and are the work of Lodovico Amadori (1603). On each side of the entrance to the small choir are statues in cypress wood,

[1] Sighinolfi says it is not by him but by Vincenzo Onofrio (1508).

one to St. Dominic and one to the Virgin and Child. Leaving the sacristy, we come to a chapel (No. 11) where on the right is a painting in vivid colours over the altar of the Marriage of St. Catherine, by Filippino Lippi (1501), with SS. Peter, Paul, John the Baptist and Sebastian.

The twelfth chapel, that of the High Altar, was renovated by the Grimaldi family early in the eighteenth century. The large picture of the Magi is a good example of Bartolommeo Cesi's work, who also painted the St. Nicholas on the right and St. Dominic on the left in gilded ornamentation. There are two large pictures on either side showing Vincenzo Ferreri, by Pedretti, and St. Thomas Aquinas, by Bertusio. In the choir all round is some extremely beautiful inlaid work by Fra Damiano of Bergamo; the north side having stories from the New Testament, the south side those from the Old. Fra Damiano and his pupils were at work here from 1528 to 1540, and the admiration aroused by their labours may be estimated from the words of a contemporary, Fra Sabba of Castiglione: "I believe," said he, "nay, I am certain, that this may well be called the eighth wonder of the world. Happy Bologna, who can rejoice and exult in the possession of the Choir of St. Dominic."

In one of the front seats Fra Antonio Cossetti of Vicenza inscribed his name as having restored the choir in 1744.

The interior of the thirteenth chapel corresponds with the back of the monument to Taddeo Pepoli which stands in the chapel founded by him. The picture of the Deposition from the Cross is by Pier Francesco Cavazza, the Translation of the Blessed Virgin by Spisanelli.

Between this and the next chapel stands the monument to the luckless King Enzo, sculptured by Giuseppe Mazza and erected in 1731. Opposite it is the figure of a monk, at one time said to have been St. Thomas Aquinas, now supposed to be St. Dominic.

Chapel fourteen is the only one that retains its original internal character. Over the altar the Archangel Michael surrounded by angels is by Giacomo Francia; the picture on the side, of the Blessed Virgin, St. Dominic and S. Vincenzo Ferreri, is by Ubaldo Gandolfi. On the left is the striking and original tomb of Taddeo Pepoli, the leader of the faction known as "Gli Scacchesi," decorated with the armorial bearings of the black and white chessboard, and ascribed by Vasari to Jacopo Lanfrani.

Chapel fifteen, "of the Reliquaries." Here is kept the head of St. Dominic in a very ornate silver casket, which in 1383 the people of Bologna, the Pope, Benedict IX., and the Cardinal, Matteo Orsini, commissioned the artificer Giacomo Roseto to make for the better preservation of the sacred relic. It is only shown to the public on the saint's festival, 4th October. Close by is a repainted Madonna of the Trecento. To the right is a picture symbolising the Feast of the Paschal Lamb said to be by Vasari, and here too, under the altar, the famous painter in stained glass, the Beato Giacomo (or William) of Ulm, lies buried. He died in the monastery here in 1491.

The large chapel (seventeenth) holds a tempera drawing of St. Thomas Aquinas by Franceschini; an Annunciation by the Fleming Dionisius Calvaert; a picture by Calvaert's master, Prospero Fontana, of the Blessed Diana d'Andalò receiving the habit from St. Dominic, and a crucifix of the Trecento.

In the eighteenth chapel is an early painting (1459) of a Madonna by Giovanni Francesco da Rimini.

The nineteenth chapel, dedicated to "Our Lady of the Rosary," contains her fifteen mysteries, all by good artists, among them Calvaert, Cesi, Lodovico Carracci, and Guido Reni. In this chapel Guido was buried together with his pupil Elisabetta Sirani, who died poisoned (in 1665) at the age of twenty-six.

In the small vestibule by the north door is one of the gems of the church—the tomb of jurisconsult Alessandro Tartagni of Imola, the work of the great Florentine sculptor Francesco di Simone (1477). The calm repose of the recumbent figure, the dignified Renaissance setting of scroll and pattern, the *tondo* of the Virgin and Child in the upper archway, the carved panels of the Virgin and Child again, and of saints immediately above the body, are instinct with Tuscan feeling and character, and carry one in spirit to Santa Croce and the lovely tomb of Carlo Marsuppini by Desiderio da Settignano.

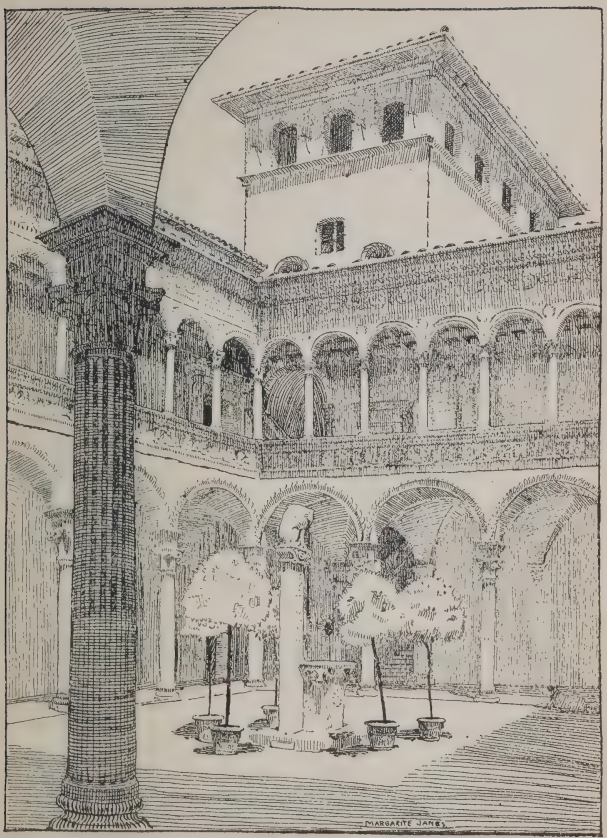
On the opposite side is the unattractive monument of the Volta family, with a marble statue of S. Procolo, ascribed by some to Prospero Clementi, by others to Lazzaro Casario, to whom are also ascribed the two side busts. Adjoining the church on the south side is the old suppressed monastery of the friars, where in olden days scholars from foreign lands were wont to be buried. Many of these tombs were removed to the Museo Civico, but some inscriptions to French, English, Polish and German students can still be traced on the pavement, while on the walls traces of old and faded paintings can still be faintly discerned. From

this cloister the old and graceful belfry is also visible.

On leaving S. Domenico by the Via Rolandino we come to the "Casa dei Carracci" (now Gradi), built in the second half of the fifteenth century, with beautiful terra-cotta work in the curious arches supported on brackets, the corner one being decorated with a charming *putto*. The effect is very striking, and suggests a sense, as it were, of buttresses and fortifications allied to art and beauty that is unusual and remarkable.

The Via Garibaldi, close by, leads into the Piazza dei Tribunali, in which stands the "Palazzo di Giustizia," one of the largest and most imposing palaces in the town. It was originally built for the Ruini family; from them it passed to the Ranuzzi, then to Prince Felice Bacciocchi, from him to the Counts Grabinski, and finally to the Commune. The chief façade is by Palladio, and to him is also ascribed the cortile. The great staircase adorned with statues is by G. B. Piacentini. The upper floor, in which are some large rooms and halls finely decorated with pictures by Franceschini and Colonna, is set apart for offices for the Law Courts of Bologna.

From here the Via delle Terraglie leads into the Via d'Azeglio (formerly Via S. Mamolo) and to the Church of S. Procolo, chiefly of interest as having been one of Bologna's earliest churches, the resting-place of one of the patron saints of the city, and one of the centres where the doctors of law had their houses and schools before they were gathered under one roof in what is now the Archiginnasio. The church itself dates from the fourth century; it was enlarged early in the eleventh century, and underwent further alterations in 1536, when



PALAZZO BEVILACQUA

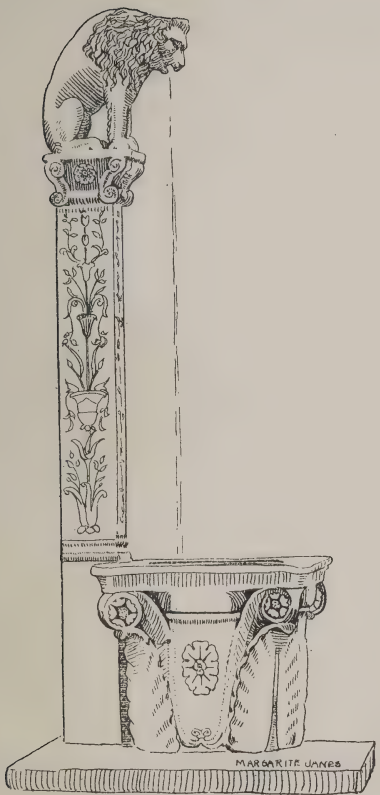
Antonio Terribilia began important works which were finished in 1539 by Formigine. Over the entrance door is a painting by Lippo di Dalmasio of the Virgin and Child between SS. Benedict and Sixtus. In each of the eight chapels are paintings and frescoes by Bolognese masters, but none are of special merit or call for more than a cursory glance. In the seventh chapel lie two Saints Procolo: one the soldier-saint of that name, the other Procolo, Bishop of Terni, who were interred in 1390 in one tomb of late Roman date. On the outside wall is a curious epigraph with a play on the word "Procolo" that has given rise to many conjectures, and has finally been explained as having been written by a scholar in memory of a fellow-student named Procolo, a studious but delicate youth who died a victim to overwork and to rising too early each morning when the church bell summoned all the scholars to their studies. The translation runs thus: "If far from Procolo had been the bell of Procolo, the same Procolo would now be far from Procolo. Year of our Lord 1393." [1]

In the Via d'Azeglio stands the Palazzo Bevilacqua, one of the most beautiful palaces without doubt in Bologna. It was built in 1491 by the Senator Nicolò Sanuti, and finished by his widow, Nicolosia Castellani, who again made it over to Giovanni II. Bentivoglio in exchange for some other property. Some have named Bramante as the architect, but the style is more Florentine than Roman, especially the facet-cut façade, which earned for it at one time the name of "Palazzo dei Diamanti," and imparts to it an air of stern dignity that blends most harmoniously with the

[1] "Si procul a Proculo Proculi campana fuisset, nunc procul a Proculo Proculus ipse foret, A.D. 1393."

upper part, which is of a lighter style and later date. The chief entrance, with its arched tympanum and bas-reliefs above a beautifully rounded doorway, is richly decorated with designs of marvellous grace and finish, and these are repeated in window, cornice and frieze with all the wealth of decoration and originality which belong so exclusively to that period. Over the entrance is a small rectangular balcony with a projecting screen of wrought iron supported on brackets adorned with carved *putti* and acanthus leaves. The courtyard is even lovelier than the exterior. It was restored in 1907–8 by the munificence of Duke Bevilacqua, under the direction of Alfonso Rubbiani, and consists of two floors or loggie, from the original designs of Giuseppe Nadi. There are columns, capitals, and designs in terra-cotta similar to those in the portico of S. Giacomo Maggiore, which have been ascribed to Sperandio of Mantua, and which are undoubtedly the work of Bolognese craftsmen. The well in the centre with its presiding genius in the shape of a stone bear, who sits in an attitude of patient solemnity watching, immovable, the steady flow of water from his own mouth, adds an appropriate note to the calm setting of the picture.

On the occasion of the Emperor Charles V. coming to Bologna to be crowned in S. Petronio by Pope Clement VII. in 1530, he was lodged in the Palazzo Bevilacqua till the rooms in the Palazzo del Comune were ready to receive him and his large retinue of nobles and grandees. The following year, 1531, the palace was bought by Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggi, in whose family it remained for some years. It was then acquired by the Marchesi Malvezzi, who in their turn sold it in 1739 to the ducal house of Bevilacqua Vincenti.



BEAR FOUNTAIN IN PALAZZO BEVILACQUA

Special interest attached to the palace in 1547, when owing to an outbreak of the plague at Trent the famous Council adjourned to Bologna and held their sittings in an upper room of the Bevilacqua palace, a room which to this day preserves the same aspect that it wore when used for those sittings.

Turning out of the Via Carbonesi into the Via Tagliapietra, we see in the centre of a blank brick wall—once the convent wall of Corpus Domini, now the Cialdini Barracks—a portal of rare beauty, a perfect specimen of Renaissance terra-cotta ornamentation, and the work of Sperandio of Mantua. This portal is all that now remains of the original Church of Corpus Domini, known too as "La Santa" or "Santa Caterina," from the saint who is to Bologna what St. Anthony is to Padua, and whose remains are placed in a cell opening out from the second chapel on the left. Some say that Santa Caterina de' Vigri herself founded the church, others say that it was erected twenty years after her death in 1481 (the architects being Marchione da Faenza and Bartolommeo da Dozza) by pious Bolognese to the memory of this the first abbess of the convent. The convent itself was, in early times, one of the largest and most fashionable in Bologna, frequented almost entirely by daughters of the nobility, and numbering at the close of the fifteenth century no less than 200 sisters.

The personality of Caterina de' Vigri stands out in her double character of saint and artist. Her father, Giovanni de' Vigri, a man in easy, not to say affluent circumstances, hailed from Ferrara, but settled in Bologna; he married a Bolognese maiden, Benvenuta Mamolini by name, and on 7th September, 1413, their only child, Caterina, was born. Her childhood, nay rather her babyhood,

was declared to have been marked with saintly tendencies, and many proofs were adduced to demonstrate her divine calling. She was preternaturally grave, she never entered into childish games, her lessons were pursued with eager intelligence, and all pious exercises and good works received her unfailing devotion and attention. Her youth was spent at the court of Ferrara as the companion of the Principessa Margherita, the illegitimate daughter of Niccolò III. of Este; but neither the attractions of a gay and brilliant court, nor any offers of marriage—and many came her way—served to deter her from the path she had chosen of a life dedicated to "do the will of God, and to love Him with a perfect Love." In the year 1432, accordingly, she was professed and cloistered under the rule of St. Clare, and passed a trying novitiate between physical weakness and the efforts of well-meaning friends to dissuade her from the life she had chosen. This novitiate was spent in Ferrara, and much of what she endured can be gathered from her book, *Le Sette Armi Necessarie alla Battaglia Spirituale*, written when she was twenty-five and bearing a strong autobiographical touch. From Ferrara, where she was "Mistress of the Novices," she was appointed to set up the new House of the Poor Clares just founded in Bologna, and in 1456, with a heart torn at leaving her friends in Ferrara, and full of misgivings as to her worthiness for her new task, she set out on her journey.

For seven years she ruled her convent with wisdom and saintliness, and for days after she had "breathed forth her happy soul in a gentle sigh" the nuns would not believe that their loved Abbess had really left them nor give up her body to be laid in the grave. They insisted that her mortal

remains were too holy to be treated like any ordinary corpse, and by a series of manœuvres they contrived that she should be placed on a throne in a cell set apart for the purpose in the Church of Corpus Domini, where her outward form could still be visible to the faithful. So it comes about that the woman who shunned publicity above all things, and whose modesty was in keeping with real holiness, stands before us in a setting wholly out of keeping with her life and character and strangely remote from what she herself would have wished. A modern writer[1] has given a charming record of her history, and the following extract as to how the saint is now "on view" is so minute and exact as to deserve quotation. "The body is unsupported; the posture is natural; the skin on hands and feet and face is perfect, uncorrupted, said to be flexible. Yet no grinning skeleton or ghostly corpse could be more unlifelike than this small erect figure, whose discoloured wizen face is thrown into hideous relief by the splendour of silk and gems and cloth of gold. A splendid diadem glitters above the black veil; the brown habit of the Poor Clare is replaced by a regal mantle; there is a written notice in the cell that priests are permitted to kiss the Santa's hands.

"That the woman who yearned for strict seclusion and shunned observation, who in early youth fled from the pomps and vanities of a court, and who loved poverty as whole-heartedly as her master St. Francis—that this humble, sensitive, refined gentlewoman should be thus arrayed in garish splendour, and exposed to the gaze of the curious, seems the irony of a satiric fate.

[1] Laura Ragg, *The Women Artists of Bologna.* Methuen, London.

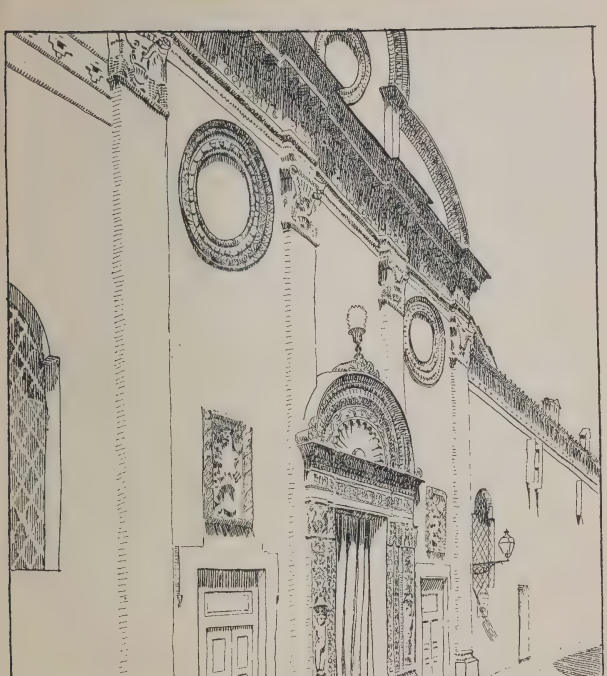
"We turn with relief to the relics disposed on the walls of the cell. There, in a locked glass case, is one of the many breviaries copied and illumined by the saint, for the use of the community. There hangs a picture, unsigned, but attributed by constant tradition to Caterina, the lovely Madonna of the Apple. There, most interesting of all, is the little viol on which the dying Abbess played to the wonder and admiration of her flock." [1]

As a painter Caterina de' Vigri does not greatly excite our enthusiasm, for her style was archaic and conventional, and her one really good picture, that of the "Madonna of the Apple," stamps her as being, what she essentially was, a miniaturist, for it is just "a miniature on canvas, with carefully stippled colour and the application of burnished gold. The flesh tints are clear, fresh and beautiful; the expression of the Holy Child is intelligent and engaging; and the crimson tones of the Virgin's robes are wonderfully rich and harmonious." [2]

Her writings, all devotional, whether in prose or verse, are of no mean order; and Marco Minghetti, himself a distinguished Italian author, praises highly her principal work, *Le Sette Armi*, which he says is always musical, while her more ecstatic passages lend themselves easily to blank verse.

The interest centring round this gifted woman must not absorb us to the exclusion of a good deal beside that is of note in the church itself. It is a fine *barocco* building and contains some of Marc' Antonio Franceschini's finest works. This painter, who was born in Bologna in 1648 and died there in 1729, decorated much of the dome, the walls below it, the interior of the Santa's cell, while his two masterpieces are also here: "Christ

[1] Laura Ragg, *op. cit.* p. 11. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 152.



FAÇADE OF THE CHURCH OF CORPUS DOMINI

administering the Last Supper to the Disciples," over the High Altar, and the better known and more famous one of "The Passing of St. Joseph," in the richly ornamented sixth chapel.

Out from the second chapel, in a cell adorned by chiaroscuro drawings by L. Samoggia, to the left is the tomb of the "father" of electricity, Luigi Galvani, erected to him by the Municipality of Bologna in 1873.

In the fourth chapel is a painting by Lodovico Carracci of the Apostles round the tomb of the ascended Virgin.

Before turning away from the church of "La Santa," I feel bound to set down an appeal made to me by Don Domenico Cavina, the Parocco (or parish priest), when I told him I was writing about Bologna and about his church. He implored me most forcibly to set down that the state of "La Santa" was brought about neither by mummification nor by embalming. It was a miracle, nothing more and nothing less, and he entreated me to urge this fact on all interested in Santa Caterina di Bologna who could accept with faith a fact that after all was evident to those who had eyes to see.

CHAPTER X

S. Francesco—S. Salvatore—S. Paolo—The Spanish College

THE great Franciscan Church, the church of him who, as Dante says, "was all seraphic in fervency," stands at a short distance from the Hotel Brun, once Palazzo Ghisilieri, and for many years the first hotel of the town. Corrado Ricci rightly describes the church as the most picturesque of all the churches of Bologna, with its strong flying buttresses; the graceful belfry; the lovely marble side door; the ornate chapel of S. Bernardino; the decorations of the façade (restored in 1905–6) of marble, terra-cotta and figured majolica —all combine, as he says, to create externally a strikingly harmonious whole, culminating internally in three naves divided by two rows of octagonal pilasters; the vast proportions of the Franciscan building being maintained throughout in perfect symmetry. The church was begun in June 1236; consecrated in 1250, and finished in 1260. The name of the architect is uncertain, but there is a legendary Giovanni or Johanninus of Brescia who may have been the man, together with one Brother Andrew, *maestro della ghiezia*, who is known to have had his legs broken in 1252, when, in the act of building, the apse fell in and caused much damage. The larger belfry is the work of "maestro" Antonio di Vincenzo, who had so much to do in the building of S. Petronio, and in May 1397 he himself laid the foundations of this campanile, though the work

ALTARPIECE IN THE CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO

was suspended at the end of the year, and only progressed fitfully afterwards. At the base of the campanile is the fine tomb—the work of a Venetian sculptor—of Pietro Canetoli, a jurisconsult who died in 1382.

The building has undergone many and strange vicissitudes. In 1798 it was suppressed as a place of worship and turned into a custom-house. Re-opened as a church in 1847, it had to undergo much re-arrangement in order to adapt it to its original use. In 1866, however, it was again turned to secular purposes and converted into a military warehouse. Happier days dawned in 1886, when it was determined to restore it once again as a church, and the task was entrusted to the guidance and genius of Alfonso Rubbiani.

The atrium, close to the bell-tower and through which access is generally gained to the church, is propped by big "romanico" pylons, and was built in 1260. It was demolished in 1630 and restored in 1898. Its walls are stuck about with tablets and fragments of marble, of terra-cotta, of enamelled tiles and bricks, all rescued from the ruins.

On entering the church this way our attention first rests on the apse. The choir is of wood, carved in 1907 by Vittorio Fiori, and the screen enclosing it, on which hangs a crucifix of the thirteenth century, of wrought iron, is the work of Pietro Maccaferri in 1909. On the High Altar rises a vision of beauty, a reredos ("ancona") of white marble, carved by the Venetian brothers, Jacobello and Pier Paolo dalle Massegne, between 1388 and 1396. This masterpiece consists of two tiers of figures of saints and prophets; of angels and prelates ranged on either side of the Coronation of the Blessed

Virgin on the lower tier, and of God the Father on the upper one. Around and about, under niches, or exalted on pinnacles, or on columns, are ranked in varying sizes and degrees an infinity of saintly forms, simple yet dignified in their mien and attitude, and breathing an air of inspiration and devotion which has its setting in perfect and exquisite proportion. High above the tiers under a lovely canopy stand the Virgin and Child, but higher still, and towering above pilasters and columns, above saints and angels, the "Cross of Calvary uplifted high" stands in majestic glory, the culminating point of Love perfected through Sacrifice. "This great carving," says Rubbiani, "with its eighty statues or half-statues of saints and angels, with its bold pinnacles, is a glorious work of mediæval Italian art, an instructive document for the history of that period, for in the smile that beams on each of those faces; in the grace of their mortal bodies; in the charm of motion with which those chaste feminine faces and venerable bishops start out from their niches, lies one of the best foreshadowings of the Renaissance. It is the sculpture of the Middle Ages striving through hope to attain to a fresh perfecting of the human form without losing the traditional virtue of the mystic expression."[1]

This great work of art went through many and hairbreadth escapes. In 1462 one Frate Andrea da Cento was entrusted by the Brothers with the cleaning of the reredos: "and God only knows," says Rubbiani, "what that word *nectare* may have concealed!" More repairs came about in 1536, when one of the earthquakes—so frequent in Bologna and so damaging—caused the fall of one of the

[1] Alfonso Rubbiani, *La chiesa di S. Francesco, e le tombe dei Glossatori in Bologna*, p. 95. Bologna, 1900.

angels. Greater evils came about in 1588–90, when the greater part of the sanctuary was bodily removed, and an entirely new altar, "of the style then in fashion," was substituted for the old one. More breakages and damages occurred in 1603, and in 1629 the statue of St. Francis came crashing down and was broken in bits, though "it was patched up as well as was possible."[1] More lamentable still was the fate of the reredos in 1804, when, on the church being turned into a custom-house, it was taken down all in separate bits and stowed away most carelessly in the vaults of S. Petronio. It was fortunately rescued from so dangerous and ignominious a position in 1901, when Rubbiani and his pupils brought it to light again and by the help of many documents and records were able to restore it intact to its former glory and position. The Madonna and Child in the high central niche are, however, of comparatively modern date, having been carved by one Carrara, a colleague of Rubbiani. Our Lord on the Cross is also modern, the work of Prudenzio Piccioli in 1848. The altar itself, severe and simple, has been made anew, precisely as it stood in the eleventh century, from old documents and plans.

Behind the High Altar and encircling the apse are nine chapels, seven of which have been restored and re-decorated on the lines of former times, and with a strict adherence to the old character and appearance of these chapels, based on the records relating to them.

First chapel, the Madonna of St. Luke, awaiting restoration.

Second chapel, of the "Stigmata," formerly known as "dei Bottrigari." The "ancona" or

[1] Alfonso Rubbiani, *op. cit.* p. 96.

reredos is of majolica and in the style of the Della Robbias. It shows St. Francis receiving the "Stigmata," and is the work of the Minghetti brothers of Bologna. The frescoes on the walls are by Achille Casanova; the altar was designed by Edoardo Collamarina, and the painted apsidal windows are copied from some old stained glass still extant in Bologna.

Below these windows is an inscription to Francesco Calzoni (the brother of the founder of the chapel) which runs as follows: "Quasi visitatio angeli tui sol transiens per vitra—Lux ipsa tua, Domine, luceat in ætern. Francisco Calzonio. MDCCCXCVI."

The decoration in this chapel is carried out with symbolical references to the life of St. Francis, and in designs relating to the Franciscan Order. The walls are as if draped with rich hangings—a decoration much in vogue in the Cinquecento, and are caught up with the Franciscan *cordegliera*, or girdle, while in the panels are the symbols of the inflamed heart with the five rays of the "Stigmata," and the verse *in foco amor mi vinse*, alternate with the three crowns of the spiritual Franciscan kingdom, and the words: *Povertà, Obbedienza, Castità.*

All these works were carried out in 1905 and finished the following year at the expense of the Calzoni family.

Third chapel, of the Madonna, also known as the "Cappella Santi," from the family of that name who undertook its restoration, and who carried it out on the same lines and in the same good taste that is shown in the other apsidal chapels in this church. The mural frescoes, by Casanova, are suggestive of a nocturnal feast, or "serenata," to the Blessed Virgin, and are interwoven with hangings of purple

strewn with flowers of gold, through which the blue of an Italian night is felt more than seen in the distance. The walls are propped as it were by a high pergola formed of branches of lilies, through which gleam numerous hanging lamps of gold and crystal. The pergola rests on a stand of marble panels, with festoons of fruits, and on these again are placed censers in high gilt relief, from which issue clouds of incense, while below them runs a scroll inscribed with a litany of praise and invocation to the Blessed Virgin. The windows are copied from an old "grisaille," once in S. Petronio, now in the Museo Civico, and were designed by Pasquinelli. The altar of Istrian stone is on the simple, severe lines of the thirteenth century, with short columns, while over the altar is an interesting picture by Pietro Lianori, a Bolognese artist of the fifteenth century, representing the Madonna with SS. Jerome and Petronio, full-sized figures in three compartments, with half-sized figures of the other patron saints of Bologna in five upper divisions. It is in good preservation, and bears the artist's signature (1453). An inscription at the entrance states how this chapel was restored and dedicated to the memory of Giuseppe and Angiola Santi by their children in 1890.

Fourth chapel, of St. Thomas. The iron-work screen is here, as in all the other chapels, copied from that in the lower church of Assisi. It is in the form of rafters surmounted by intertwined spear-heads, suggestive at once of defence and lightness. The fresco painting was executed by Pompeo Fortini, from designs furnished by the commission for the restoration. The starry vaulting overhead; the frieze of alternate foliage and heraldic devices; the decorated interstices, all had their origin in some

fifteenth-century model, and that origin Italian. The stained glass double-window with a small round window above is copied from older examples in Bologna and was designed for this spot by the painter Augusto Sezanne in 1894. In the round window is shown the eagle of St. John with the Gospel open at the words: *Beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt,* referring to St. Thomas, from whom the chapel takes its name.

Over the altar is a painting of the Madonna enthroned, by Jacopo Forti (1485), with St. Francis and S. Bonaventura on either side, while in the centre is a terra-cotta bust of St. Thomas, a fine piece of modern work by the Bolognese sculptor, Giuseppe Romagnoli (1896). The chapel was restored by the heirs of the Da Via Bargellini family in 1893, and in common with most of these apsidal chapels was dedicated to the memory of ancestors.

Fifth chapel, of Peace. This, the central chapel in the apse, was a votive offering "for the peace of the Nations," and was inaugurated on 18th May, 1899, the very day on which in that year the International League for the same purpose was opened at The Hague. The idea was started by some of the citizens, of the ladies and of the artists of Bologna; and 80,000 was the goodly number of those "who offered willingly" for the erection of this shrine to the Prince of Peace. The mural decorations all refer to man's longing for peace, and are the work of Achille Casanova and his colleagues. The blue vaults studded with golden stars stand as emblems of the sun, the moon, the earth, and comets, with flowing scrolls in between on which are inscribed mottoes from Boethius, alluding to the harmony of the astral bodies as an example to mankind: *O felix hominum genus—si vestros animos*

amor—quo cœlum regitur, regat. On the ribbing of the vaults the festoons of fruit and flowers refer to the "abundance of peace" spoken of in the Psalms. In the lunette on the left is an allusion to the first peace made by God with man, and the promise given after the Flood. The Ark rests on Ararat; the many-hued sky reflects the tints of the rainbow, and above the bow rises the dove bearing the olive-branch. The words of the new covenant arise out of the waters: *Arcum meum ponam in nubibus—fœdus pacis meæ non movebitur.*

This first page, so to speak, of the poem of peace on earth, has on the opposite side a picture explaining St. John's prophecy of the final union of humanity, all gathered into one fold. The green outstretched meadow, showing on each side the buildings which differentiate the ancient from the modern races, is overshadowed as by a cross of gold interlaced with the vine and having as a central inscription the words: *Et rex futurorum Christus.* The scrolls on either side proclaim: *Fient unum ovile et unus pastor.* Below the lunettes are plants of *Helianthus,* with their flowers turning always to the sun, as a good man always turns to God. On the right the prophetical books of the Old Testament are hung from the plants; on the left are the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter, amid rays of gold and open at the pages which either predict or speak about peace. The whole atmosphere is laden with the one dominant thought and idea—Peace, whether signified in representations of the heavenly beings announcing *in terra pax,* or issuing from land and sea and sky, joining in one the elements of Nature with the great and eternal mystery of Love. Above the altar hangs a painted crucifix of no special merit as a work

of art, but of interest as dating from the fourteenth century. Supplications and invocations for the "blessing of Peace" are inscribed in Latin above and around the altar, while on the architrave is set forth Christ's parting and imperative injunction: *Mandatum novum do vobis : diligite vos invicem.*

The three apsidal stained glass windows carry on the ruling idea. The central window shows the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, the *initium pacis* brought about through Love ; the one to the right of the altar shows the youthful flaming countenance of the Sun, "Frate Sole," encircled with the first verse of St. Francis's *Hymn of the Creatures* where it says: *Laudato sii mio Signor per misser frate sole che di te porta significatione.* In the other window is the "laud to Poverty," Dame Poverty, *la donna più cara* to St. Francis, with the verse around : *Dolce amor di povertade quanto ti dobbiamo amare.*[1]

The central window was designed and coloured by Casanova; the two side ones are due to Pasquinelli. Under the middle one is an inscription relating how Donna Maria Morelli, a great and gracious lady of Bologna, was one of the first to advocate the idea of this votive peace-offering, and how much the chapel owed to her and to her husband Don Calisto Chigi. To the left is a cenotaph to Cardinal Battaglini, Archbishop of Bologna, who in 1894 laid the first stone of this chapel. In December 1899 a big lamp was here suspended, in wrought iron, and full of mystical meaning as to the fertility of the earth and the harmony and peace engendered by the work of men's hands.

[1] The designs and colouring of these stained glass windows originated in Bologna; they were put into execution at Innsbruck by the Tiroler Glasmalerei Co.

Sixth chapel, of S. Giuseppe, formerly of St. Anthony of Padua, originally known as that of the Albergati, it having been bestowed on the "Frati Minori" in 1321 by one Marco degli Albergati. In it are the tombs of Vianesio Albergati the Elder, a most beautiful work of Francesco da Simone, and of a younger Vianesio, some hundred years later, by Lazzaro Casario. The altar, the "ancona," the design and paintings of the altar and all relating to it are by Augusto Sezanne of Bologna, who chose for his models Bolognese pictures of the fourteenth century. A temporary statue of St. Joseph stands over the altar. The mural decorations in Giottesque style are by Casanova.

Seventh chapel, of the Blessed Guido Spada, This chapel was set apart as the resting-place of some of the venerable friars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, among whom were Guido Spada; Bonaparte Ghisilieri; Matteo da Faenza; and Bonuccio, all companions of St. Francis. Their bones rest in a great majolica sarcophagus made in 1897, by the Bolognese firm of the brothers Minghetti, in strict imitation of the ceramic work of Faenza, which in its turn copied so largely from Limoges. The allegory set forth on the casket is as follows: Bologna had rebelled against the Papal Legate Bertrando del Pogetto (the same who had caused Dante's *De Monarchia* to be burned), and in consequence the town was placed under an interdict, a sentence which prompted a host of professors and students to leave "Lo Studio" and remove to Castel San Pietro. Embassies and entreaties were despatched to Rome, but nothing prevailed. Benedict XII. remained obdurate and refused absolution. Thereupon Guido Spada, a holy man and a favourite with the people, the

healer of many factions, betook himself to Rome, pleaded earnestly with the Holy Father, and finally succeeded in obtaining the removal of the ban (1334). The fact is recorded in old-world phraseology written in honour of Fra Guido and stating: *Bononia sensata plaudet per Guidonem liberata; nam desolata nimis fuerat privata divinis.*

The small statues on the sarcophagus are by Colombarini of Bologna, and the sarcophagus itself is the gift of Cavaliere Federico Vellani. The decorations on the sides are full of symbol and meaning; heraldic devices, laurel bushes, plants and flowers springing from niches and corners, carillons of golden bells, all designed by A. Casanova, and carried out at the expense of the Marchesa Teresa Spada, of the family of the saintly Guido and a generous patron of the chapel. The "grisaille" windows with blossoming irises and pomegranates repeat in their turn the blending of mediæval and renascent art which the restorers of S. Francesco have set so faithfully before their eyes and carried out so lovingly and artistically. Here again the presiding genius was Casanova.

Eighth chapel, of the Boschi family, restored and adorned through a legacy bequeathed for the purpose by the Marchese Luigi Boschi in 1904, the work being ably executed by Casanova and Giuseppe Decol, though the work is not on a level with the other chapels and falls short of the standard till now so ably maintained. To the left the bas-relief with the recumbent figure of the Marchese Emma Boschi is by Giuseppe Romagnoli (1905). On the altar the triptych in terra-cotta and the figures are by Colombarini (1906).

Ninth chapel, of the organ. This is soon to be altered. The organ is to be replaced in its old posi-

tion behind the High Altar, and the chapel restored on the lines of the preceding ones.

Down the same aisle we come upon the tomb of Marco Magio and then to that of Giovanni Battista Teodosio (1529), the work, possibly, of Girolamo Coltellini; and a little further on is another tomb of the fifteenth century, that of Pietro Filargo, who as Pope Alexander V. died at Bologna in 1410 on his way back from the Council of Pisa. As he belonged to the "Frati Minori," he was buried in this Franciscan church, and in 1482 this monument, which Vasari attributed to Niccolò d'Arezzo, was raised over his remains. Later investigations have, however, proved that it was most certainly modelled by Sperandio of Mantua, the famous medallist, of whose work so much is to be found in Bologna. The tomb, all in terra-cotta, is in many respects similar to the famous one to Baldassare Cossa, Pope John XXII., in the Baptistery at Florence, by Donatello. The tomb was broken up in 1802; afterwards, in spite of many of the pieces being missing, it was rearranged and set up in the communal cemetery, and finally the eighty fragments into which it was reduced were collected together and carefully reconstructed by the sculptor Barbêri in its present position. The recumbent statue of the Pontiff is modelled with admirable simplicity; the head has an expression of such veracity and character that it is quite possible that Sperandio may have drawn it from the death-mask taken when the body was embalmed — an operation that was performed and described by the well-known physician Pietro de Argelata.

On 10th October, 1893, the ashes of Alexander V. were again laid to rest in this renovated tomb— which is one of the finest of these Renaissance

terra-cotta tombs in Bologna; and was restored at Pope Leo XIII.'s expense.

Just before the Chapel of S. Bernardino is the monument to Ercole Bottrigari, a work of the Lombardi (1522). It consists of a recumbent figure, with a cross round the neck, a "berretta" on the head, and a sword at the side.

Beyond the principal door on the further side of the church is a tablet to Padre Martino, the "father" of Italian music, many of whose MSS. are in Bologna. After one or two monuments of no special interest we come upon another very fine specimen of Francesco da Simone's work, the tomb of the Apostolic Protonotary Fieschi, who was "Protonotario" to Julius II. and died in Bologna. The recumbent figure is full of beauty and dignity, and dates from the last year of the Quattrocento, the best period of Renaissance art, and is on the same Florentine lines that we have seen in the Tartagni tomb at S. Domenico.

The last chapel near the entrance is that of S. Bernardino, though now made over to St. Anthony, whose elaborate statue is on the altar. It was built towards 1440, the period of transition between the Gothic and the Renaissance, but was restored in "barocco" style in 1899. A lovely frieze runs outside on the external wall in terra-cotta with the emblems of the Franciscan Order.

The churches and towers, the palaces and museums of Bologna are of so special an interest as almost to blind us to the objects of minor importance that lie scattered in their midst, and from which the traveller who has but a few days to spare may well plead to be excused. Yet some of these smaller places have a history and an interest all

their own, and no account of Bologna would be faithful that omitted all mention of them. Chief among these are the Churches of S. Salvatore and of S. Paolo; the lovely façade of Santo Spirito, and the Spanish College.

S. Salvatore stands in the Via Barbaziana, and was built on the site of an old church, of which nothing now remains, between the years 1605 and 1623, from designs by P. Ambrogio Magenta, who obtained here, as he did also at S. Paolo, a certain striking effect as to size and dignity. The figures of saints in the four minor chapels are by Cavedoni.

In the second chapel is "Our Lord's Resurrection," showing a densely-packed crowd, by Mastelletta.

Third chapel. A richly-decorated "ancona" with "Our Lady of Victory," a fine and well-preserved painting by Vitale da Bologna, that once was in the Church of the Mount (now the Palazzo Aldini), and after many peregrinations was brought here. In the sacristy are many pictures by different Bolognese masters, such as Cavedoni, Burrini, Samacchini, Mastelletta and others, besides a "St. Dominic" ascribed to Guercino.

Fourth chapel contains the "Story of the Syrian Crucifix," by Giacomo Coppi, a Florentine (1579), while to English visitors this chapel is of interest as being the one once founded by the English students of the University, and in which hangs—below the organ—a "Virgin in the Temple, with St. Thomas à Becket" (here rightly called "of Canterbury"), a good deal repainted and rather damaged. This altar to the memory of the English martyr was erected in 1173, and was the special place of worship for the English students in those early days. Above the organ loft is "Judith with the

Head of Holofernes, meeting the Hebrew Maidens," by Mastelletta. On the opposite side is a "Virgin and Child, with SS. Sebastian, Rocco and Catherine," by Girolamo da Carpi; and below that again is an ornate "ancona," of the close of the fourteenth century, formed of many gilt squares, "The Coronation of the Virgin" in the centre; "St. John"; "The Martyrdom of St. Catherine"; "The Nativity," and other subjects, ascribed to Cristoforo da Bologna.

The picture of the Saviour in a decorated frame over the High Altar is the joint work of Gessi and Guido Reni; the other pictures here, eight in number, are by Cavedoni and Brizzi.

Sixth chapel. On the right is a "St. Jerome" by Bononi; a huge "Nativity" by Tiarini, in imitation of Correggio; here too is a lovely holy-water stoup of the sixteenth century. On the left is a "St. Sebastian" by Bononi; and a "David with Goliath's Head" by Giacinto Gilioli. The statues are by Tedeschi. "The Crucifixion" between saints in the centre is a signed work by Innocenzo da Imola (1539).

Ninth chapel has a good Garofalo, of St. John bending before St. Zacharias and St. Anne, with other saints (1542). Near the door is a memorial slab to Jacques de Montmorency, who came in the suite of Charles V. for that monarch's coronation in Bologna, and died here December 1529. Over the door is an interesting "Marriage in Cana," by Gustavo Gandolfi.

S. Paolo in the Via Carbonesi was built in 1611 for the Barnabite Fathers from designs by P. Ambrogio Magenta. It was suppressed at the close of the eighteenth century, and restored in 1819 and again in 1878. The façade is the work of

Ercole Fichi, by whom are also the two terra-cotta statues of S. Carlo and S. Filippo Neri in the upper niche; the lower ones in marble of St. Peter and St. Paul were begun by Mirandola, and completed by Giulio Cesare Coventi. The lunette and the large dome in which is represented "St. Paul in the Areopagus at Athens" are by Giuseppe Rolli, and are worthy of note.

The first chapel has on either side paintings by Mastelletta of "Christ in the Garden" and "Christ bearing the Cross"; in the dome there are scenes from the Passion by Francesco Carboni.

The second chapel has a genial "Virgin and Child," retouched, and ascribed to Lippo di Dalmasio, but more probably by some pupil of Francia. Below is a fine "Paradiso," by Lodovico Carracci. The cupola has scenes from the life of the Blessed Virgin by Bertusio.

The third chapel has some very good frescoes of "The Nativity" and "The Adoration of the Magi" by Cavedoni, by whom too are the paintings in the dome of events in the early life of our Lord. "The Communion of St. Jerome" is by Lucio Mazzari.

Fourth chapel (in the transept). By Guercino: "St. Jerome points out God the Father, our Lord and the Blessed Virgin to the Souls in Purgatory."

The design of the High Altar in the fifth chapel is by Domenico Facchetti, while the altar itself is ornamented with two marble figures of "St. Paul and his Executioner," by Alessandro Algardi, which have called forth much admiration. By him too is the "ancona" in this chapel, the medallion and the very beautiful ivory crucifix, set with agate, jasper, and other "pietra-dura," and with the symbols of the four Evangelists. The inlaid

choir stalls are also good, and represent scenes from St. Paul's life with much ingenuity and detail.

The sixth chapel has some paintings of no special merit by Samacchini.

The seventh chapel shows "San Carlo Borromeo visiting Milan during the Plague," by Lorenzo Garbieri.

Eighth chapel. The frescoed walls are by Lucio Mazzari.

The ninth chapel has some good frescoes by Cavedoni, relating to St. John the Baptist and our Lord. The upper frescoes are by a pupil of Lodovico Carracci.

Coming out of the church, and only a few steps along the Via Val d'Aposa, is the lovely façade of the Santo Spirito—"nothing beside remains"—built between 1481 and 1497, and restored to its original beauty of carved terra-cotta in 1892, under the skilful guidance of Alfonso Rubbiani.

Retracing our steps to the right of the Church of S. Paolo we come to the Spanish College in the street of the same name, that owes its being to Cardinal Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo. The cardinal had been expelled from Spain by Peter the Cruel, and obtained a grant from the Pope, Innocent VI., to lay out much of his substance in good works. He was bent on endowing a college at Bologna for students of his own nationality, who were to be admitted from the age of twenty-one to twenty-nine years, and in 1365, the college, which serves to this day for the use of Spanish students, was begun. It covers a large extent of ground, and is a building of rare beauty and interest. On the corner wall near the Church of S. Paolo are the arms of the King of Spain, and on either side are smaller ones of the Cardinal. The beautiful

ornamentation over the entrance is ascribed to Formigine. The old cloister within is extremely picturesque and there are some good paintings in the upper loggia. Near by is the library of extreme value and interest, containing rare editions, codices, manuscripts, together with some famous archives relating to the college from its earliest foundation down to the present day, and possessing besides a quantity of autograph letters of eminent men. The church, dedicated to St. Clement, has been restored to its former shape by that able genius, Alfonso Rubbiani, who removed a quantity of *barocco* decorations that had been introduced in 1702. Over the High Altar is a fine "ancona" by Marco Zoppo, divided into three parts and having several small gilt squares in which are painted the Virgin and Child, SS. Clement, Jerome, James, Andrew and others. It bears the signature *Opera del Zoppo da Bologna*. The fresco of the fourteenth century representing Pope Urban V., St. Catherine and a religious was discovered in March, 1914.

CHAPTER XI

THE PINACOTECA

WHEN people speak of the Bolognese School of painting, they usually refer to the painting school established by the Carracci, although those painters were lineally descended, as it were, from Francia, who may be looked upon as the real founder of the Bolognese School. After the famous days of the Carracci, Guido, Domenichino and Guercino, the artists of Bologna followed a prevailing fashion by establishing an Academy of Fine Arts, called the "Accademia Clementina" after its first patron, Pope Clement XI. The founder was Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, and the first director was the painter, Carlo Cignani. The history of this academy can be read in the fine work in two volumes by Giampietro Zanotti, with portraits of the leading artists. The book is an admirable specimen of Bolognese printing. The history of the Bolognese School may be studied in Count Carlo Malvasia's well-known publication, *Felsina Pittrice*.

The Pinacoteca owes its existence to the advent of Napoleon in 1796, who after sweeping away all existing independence of the great Italian cities, carried off several of the most important paintings at Bologna to swell the great collection at Paris. In order to save the others, the Bolognese deputed the members of the Accademia Clementina to collect what remained in the churches and palaces.

The city of Milan, having been constituted the capital of Italy, descended upon Bologna and removed the remainder of the pictures worth taking. Under Pope Pius VII. the majority of the works of art were returned to Italy from Paris, followed before long by those from Milan, and Bologna was at last able to build up its own Pinacoteca from its own legitimate possessions under the control of the Academy. It was not until 1882 that the Pinacoteca became an independent institution, since when it has taken its place among the principal galleries of Europe. The bulk of the collection, notwithstanding its many and varied vicissitudes, can be traced essentially to local sources, and is extraordinarily rich in all that relates to Bolognese art. "It is a vigorous abiding illustration," says Count Francesco Malaguzzi (from whose valuable and learned writings most of this chapter is taken) "of the story of Bolognese art, and, from its origin down to present times, an ever-renewed proof of the happy phenomenon of which this school alone can boast, namely its steady vitality, its innate nobleness through all changes of taste, and when elsewhere hovered the decadence of art, a decadence reduced to servility by the dogmas of the majority." [1]

It is not easy to make this chapter as helpful and handy to the traveller as could have been desired, for, in common with many of Bologna's most interesting objects, things here are in a state of transition; new rooms are in course of construction; new treasures, now stowed away or warehoused out of sight, are soon to be brought to light; a new catalogue is, in time, to give the numbers and

[1] Count Francesco Valeri Malaguzzi, *I Migliori Dipinti della Pinacoteca di Bologna.* Zanichelli.

places where these treasures will be found—but for the moment such helps are not forthcoming. All has been done as far as possible to enable the traveller to see the chief things of beauty and interest; to convince him that this collection is of primary importance; and to ask his indulgence for what cannot but be a most inadequate account of this valuable gallery. The arrangements—some completed, some in course of completion—are being extensively carried out by the present Director, Count Francesco Valeri Malaguzzi, whose taste for all that is beautiful and artistic is of a very high order. He has already imparted to each sala an atmosphere of care and order very different from the indifference—one might almost say neglect—that once reigned here, and his ambition to make this gallery take its place among the leading galleries of Italy bids fair to be speedily and successfully reached. One thing is certain, which is that the Pinacoteca of Bologna ranks high among the picture galleries of Europe; that the Bolognese School is now taking its place among the foremost in Italy; that the works of the Carracci and their followers, of Guido Reni, and the "Settecentisti" painters are now occupying an exalted position in the world of art; and a true knowledge of that period can only be gained by a knowledge of the Pinacoteca of Bologna.

A careful and intimate study of this gallery will also help the traveller to a better understanding and appreciation of the noble position occupied by Bologna in the artistic and intellectual development of Italy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The influence of Giotto made itself felt here early; that he himself ever came to Bologna, or

signed the "ancona" which is in this gallery and is ascribed to him, is extremely doubtful. Other influences too, those of Florence, Siena, "mystic Assisi," were also felt in the Emilian capital; while a host of miniature painters, attracted by the patronage that accrued to them from the doctors and students of the University, fostered still further the love of painting, and confirmed the position of the rising school in the town. Nor were the Northern influences of the Peninsula lacking in Bologna. The intercourse and dealings with Ferrara, Padua, Milan and Venice had their repercussion on the art of the day, an art that may be said to have been in the very air of those early centuries and has left so living an atmosphere to the world at large down to the present day.

The first corridor contains a most interesting collection of "Trecentisti," "I Primitivi," who cared little for and knew less of perspective, but who were imbued with a sense of colour, a care for detail and a spirit of devotion that give to their pictures a touch of simplicity, pathos and humour that is very remarkable, which their successors, while possessed of greater proficiency and a more advanced technique, often fail to express. In this first corridor[1] is the "ancona," or altarpiece, ascribed to Giotto. It is simple in decoration and treatment, and shows the Virgin and Child, St. Peter, St. Paul, the Archangels Michael and Gabriel; and in the predella, our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, St. John Evangelist, the Magdalen and another saint. Endless discussions have arisen over this

[1] It must be borne in mind that both numbers and places given here are subject to alteration owing to the changes taking place continually in the gallery and alluded to above.

"ancona," and although it bears Giotto's name (*op.* Magistri Jocti Fior), modern critics of Tuscan art declare it is not the work of the master, though the beauty of the various figures and the character of the piece go to prove that it was most certainly painted under his direction, and even partially by him.

In the second corridor, among the earliest of a long line of "Trecentisti" paintings, is a crucifix signed *Petrus Pinsit,* lately discovered in a store-room of the gallery, and of even earlier date than the exquisite Madonna and Child, bearing the date 1320 and the signature (both now considered spurious) of Vitale da Bologna, a master who combines a rare width of execution with luminous colouring, and of whom several examples are to be found here. Others also worthy of note are: Jacopo da Bologna (incorrectly surnamed "degli Avanzi"), by whom are two remarkable altarpieces, one especially beautiful and ornate with a "Coronation of the Virgin," the "Presentation in the Temple," the "Death of the Virgin," and many scenes from her life. The second "ancona" is simpler as to decoration and number of subjects; Simone, surnamed "dei Crocifissi," comes next with another interesting "ancona" and numerous other paintings, among them a portrait of Pope Urban V., with a marked squint in the left eye, and an unhappy mouth.

A short flight of steps leads to a corridor where are several tempera pictures, chiefly of Ferrarese masters, or proving their influence on those of Bologna. The first is a "polittico" of a long series of saints, including S. Petronio, was executed by order of one "Suor Angela Morandi" in 1467 (?), and possibly the work of "Cristoforo pittore." The more humorous

side of life is brought before us in this corridor in a funny little oblong picture ("Scuola Ferrarese, secolo XV.") of the Magi crossing the high seas in a small boat—a mode of travelling not often brought forward by the many artists who never tire of representing in one fashion or another the adventures of those attractive personages of the East. Here, too, of the same school and date, but in tempera, is the patron saint of dentists, Sta. Apollonia, who is shown brandishing a long pair of pincers in which an extracted tooth is seen firmly gripped. A fine "St. Jerome," in tempera, is also here, a dignified and inspired figure. On the opposite wall is a curious piece of tempera work signed *Alberto de Seg.* 1498 (Alberto da Segna or Segni); and another, also in tempera, of the Blessed Virgin between two saints, one of whom is dressed in the characteristic *zornea*, or short pleated coat, so much in vogue at that date, holding aloft the standard of Bologna, a worshipper (*devoto*), signed *Francischus de Zovanites fec.*, evidently the painter who is more generally known as Covanili, or Covanetti, and who was at work in 1480. All these paintings of the Trecento and Quattrocento—and they are a goodly number —have been cleaned, re-arranged and hung in a favourable light.

Bearing to the left and through a corridor hung with a number of pictures (which are eventually to be arranged in their order), we come to one of the gems of the gallery, the magnificent "ancona" of the Venetians, Antonio and Bartolommeo Vivarini (1425–99?). The saints in carved and coloured niches of blue and gold, the gorgeous frame-work, the pinnacles and decorations, all combine to make this one of the best examples of the Vivarini's

work and to call forth the highest encomiums from the art critics of every age. It shows the Blessed Virgin and Child with SS. Augustine, Jerome, John the Baptist and Nicholas of Bari; while on the upper tier is the "Ecce Homo" with four saints. It was presented by Pope Nicholas V., in 1450, to the memory of the Blessed Niccolò Albergati, Bishop of Bologna.

(The only thing to regret is the repainting of the Virgin's mantle in a shade of blue that jars with the rest of the wonderful colouring.)

Another Venetian master represented here is Cima da Conegliano (No. 61), a "Madonna and Child," brought from the sacristy of S. Giovanni in Monte; a lovely, luminous and yet simple rendering of a subject always handled by Cima with feeling and devotion, and always full of grace and charm; it was probably painted about 1496.

A little further on and standing by itself in the centre of the corridor is a "double ancona," by Niccolò of Foligno, called Alunno (1430 to 1492 or 1502). On one side is "The Annunciation," on the other "The Virgin and Child enthroned between St. Francis of Assisi and St. Eustace," a fine example of the Umbrian School, and this, which was probably used of old as a standard, was presented by Pope Pius IX. It bears the signature: *Hopus Nicolai de Ful.* 1482.

Retracing our steps towards the principal rooms (the first of these being the "Sala del Francia") we find ourselves again in the transition stage between the late "Trecentisti" and the early "Quattrocentisti." Lippo di Dalmasio Scannabecchi stands out pre-eminently with a striking "Coronation of the Virgin," signed and dated 1394; and another (touched up) of the Madonna in a garden

of flowers; though by far his best work, the "Madonna del Velluto," is not here, but in a dark corner in the Church of S. Domenico. In their respective order come such artists as Pietro Lianori, Alberto da Segna, Francesco Covanili, Michele di Matteo, "humble painters," says Malaguzzi, who were soon to yield the field to bigger men such as Marco Zoppo of Bologna, Cossa, and Ercole Roberti of Ferrara, of whose work there are many examples at Bologna.

From Ferrara came a still greater artist, Lorenzo Costa, who about the year 1483 settled in Bologna, attracted by the splendour and munificence of the court of Giovanni II. Bentivoglio, and worked indefatigably here for many years. A great deal of his work was lost in the wanton destruction of the grand Bentivoglio palace which he and Francia had adorned so beautifully, but of which only the memory has come down to us. Fortunately, however, much of his work still remains in churches, in the Pinacoteca, in the little oratory of Sta. Cecilia—that only awaits its turn to be restored to the life and decorum due to it — and in the triumphal trophies of the Bentivoglio Chapel in S. Giacomo Maggiore. Speaking of Costa, Malaguzzi says: "If we except his early works, done before he came in contact with outside influences—among others perhaps those of the Venetians — his vigorous severe style, his succulent and warm colouring acted on the Bolognese School as the fresh air of the mountains acts on a worn and weary body. Some impression, but only fleeting, on his strong and hardy art came to him through the sweetness of Perugino, and more still through our own Francia. With Francesco Raibolini, surnamed Il Francia—from an adaptation of his name, a practice common

in Bologna, and not as some have thought from the French masters who instructed him in the goldsmith's art — the Bolognese art of the Quattrocento attained its greatest heights. A contemporary pronounced him superior to Polignoto; Lucrezia d'Este extolled him as *among painters the highest of goldsmiths, among goldsmiths the noblest of painters*; the Bolognese corporations, by electing him in 1514 to be their head director (*massaro generale*), recognised him as the chief representative of art in the city."[1]

Crowds flocked to learn from him, and it has been said that at one time no less than two hundred pupils claimed him as their master. His pictures, full of refinement and a delicate, tender attention to detail, also bear marked witness to the touch of the goldsmith. Critics have seen transfused in him Ercole Roberti's artistic formulas, as well as Costa's vigour, and even—from a supposed but not proved journey to Venice—some of the form of the Venetian masters. According to Malaguzzi sufficient importance is not, however, given to the influence shed by Perugino on this "sweet and pious" Bolognese painter. The same critic goes on to say that if Francia's pictures in the Pinacoteca do not show us the first steps on the calm, steady, slightly monotonous path he trod, they certainly give the progress, the triumph of his art, and finally a hint as to its decadence. Raphael's words, written by him in a letter to Francia, show in what high esteem he held him, for speaking of his Madonnas he says he has "never seen any by anyone more lovely, more devout and better done."

The most deserving of note of Francia's chief followers and who in time acquired an individuality of

[1] Malaguzzi, *op. cit.* p. 8.

their own, are: Timoteo della Vite of Urbino; Simone delle Spade; Cesare Tamaroccio (who was associated with him in the lovely frescoes in the Oratory of Sta. Cecilia); the cross-grained Amico Aspertini, whom Vasari likened to "St. Macabre's devil, when he saw him at work with his girdle stuffed with pigments"; while among his imitators more than his followers may be classed Jacopo Boateri and Giacomo and Giulio Francia.

The appearance in Bologna of Raphael's "Sta. Cecilia" was the signal for a general movement towards the new style and genius of this master. The sad amount of restoration and touching-up that this picture has undergone mars to a great extent the qualities of "technique, modernity, vibrating chromatic harmonies" which made of this work one of the masterpieces of the world. It fired many an artist to follow on Raphael's steps, the chief in Bologna being Bagnacavallo, Biagio Pupini dalle Lame, and Innocenzo da Imola. The first of these, in spite of a powerful technique, became very much exaggerated in Raphaelesque forms, though after he had been to Rome he had the courage and sincerity to declare that it was folly to attempt to surpass the master; the second was cold and inarticulate save in two or three good pictures; while the third, though assimilating much of Raphael's manner, never attained to real excellence, for his tones were crude and hard, his flesh tints too much akin to brick or terra-cotta. Francia, who fully recognised the greatness of Raphael, was forgotten, and his theories laid aside in the passion aroused over the younger man, which soon assumed exaggerated proportions. This fashion spread in its turn to other artists, notably Correggio and Parmigianino, dear to successive generations of

Bolognese painters, and took shape in the inflated and gaudy works of Samacchini, of Sabbatini, and even the more vigorous Passerotti. Sabbatini gained much popularity and renown in Rome, where Pope Gregory XIII. loaded him with honours and commissions, but he never attained to real greatness, though his paintings, of a sober tone, are often very pleasing. Pellegrino Tibaldi, who was the real precursor of the Carracci, stands high above the rest, having studied very thoroughly in Rome, and achieving compositions of undoubted daring and vigour.

The period in local art intervening between the frenzied following after Raphael and the advent of the Carracci is in any way very interesting. The groping after the new and the unknown; the restlessness that such a search entailed; the eclecticism that their surroundings imposed on them, all conspired to drive the artists of that day along an ill-defined and queer path, and stamped their art with special characteristics. A study of their works at the Pinacoteca—let alone the fresco-painting in the palaces—suffices to prove this. Among those already spoken of may be named Niccolò dell' Abate, who though actually of Modena had a great vogue in Bologna; Primaticcio; Fontana and his daughter Lavinia; while of noted foreigners stand pre-eminently Dionisius Calvaert of Antwerp; Girolamo of Treviso; Vasari; the Sicilian sculptor Laureti; Gianbologna of Flanders: all attracted by the riches and luxury of Bologna; all contributing new ideas and new points of view in everything relating to art; and all bringing in their train a host of followers who sought to put such ideas into shape, and having withal the means to do so.

Pre-eminent among these is Dionisius Calvaert,

who worked first under Prospero Fontana, then under Sabbatini, who in his turn took him to Rome to study and understand Raphael. He returned to Bologna having mastered all the intricacies of technique, and opened a school which was speedily thronged with pupils. Orders for one picture after another poured in from all quarters, from churches, from individuals, while even nuns and young brides entreated for some "token," however small, from the brush of the Flemish master. The charm of Correggio drew his somewhat unstable nature to Parma; afterwards he was attracted by Parmigianino, and finally he returned to Bologna, where Niccolò dell' Abate held him definitely with his warm colouring, caught from Dosso Dossi, and with his classically imbued compositions. Among his scholars Calvaert ranked Guido Reni, Domenichino, Bertusio, Savonenzi, Albani; but the restlessness that was in the air made them all break away from him in time. His magnificent figure of "Vigilance" in this gallery—Roman in its grandeur and of a technique till then unknown here—may fairly rank as one of the milestones on the road of Bolognese painting.

Others are: Bartolommeo Cesi, who remained untouched by the influences from Rome and Parma and Venice which permeated most of the art of the second half of the Cinquecento, and who decorated without vigour but with versatility the Chapel of the Archiginnasio; Bartolommeo Passerotti—in whose pictures is always shown a sparrow to perpetuate his name—whose portraits were pronounced by Guido Reni to be unsurpassed; and finally in 1590 came the Carracci, who in that year founded the famous "Accademia degli Incamminati," that boasted poets, students and historians as well as painters in

its ranks. Long before then, however, Lodovico Carracci had set up a school of instruction. Malaguzzi, speaking of this family, says: "Rivers of ink have been poured out over the three Carracci and their 'Accademia.' At one time exalted to the skies; since that again unduly criticised; more fairly studied and admired to-day for the elevation and decorum of their art at a moment when a widespread decadence brooded over the rest of Italy, criticism has perhaps not yet found the right note for judging them, owing also it may be to the ill-defined limits set to their activity." [1]

The Carracci were by no means confined to one special master or school; they gathered from a large number, notably Correggio, and after him Parmigianino, Titian, Primaticcio, Michelangelo, Giulio Romano. Of the three Carracci, Lodovico—whom Tintoretto understood so little as to advise him to lay aside his brush—is certainly the one most imbued with the need of artistic reform, and the most fervent apostle of such reform. His "Madonna degli Scalzi" (so called from the church in Bologna from which it came) is one of his most delicate and exquisite bits of work. "A picture adorable for simplicity of composition, for charm of feeling, for the really celestial sweetness of the colour changing into tones of violet." [2] The Madonna stands on a crescent, the Child bends graciously and lovingly down to St. Francis on one side, while on the other stands a sturdy St. Jerome with the open book in his hand.

Annibale, his cousin and the brother of Agostino, possessed of a vigorous and vivacious nature, gave proof of his "magnificent artist's temperament" in the "Annunciation," the "Assumption," and the

[1] Malaguzzi, *Op. cit.* p. 13. [2] Spenger.

"Virgin and Saints," in this gallery, painted in 1593, "marvels of softness and elegance." His fresco work, often done in conjunction with Agostino, adorns many a Bolognese palace, while the Farnese Palace at Rome bears further witness to the skill of the two brothers. Annibale died at Rome in 1609, after having had princely honours showered on him, together with much vituperation, but in the end he was decreed a tomb in the Pantheon, where he lies by the side of Raphael. His quarrels and jars with his brother Agostino clouded much of his existence, and once when he wanted him to join him at Parma he wrote beseeching Agostino "for love of Heaven to desist from wranglings, from discussions and arguments," in order to work better for the cause and furtherance of their art.

Agostino, who was an ardent lover of the engraver's art, which he carried to heights up to that time unknown both for effect and technique, and who also as a painter has left us a wonderful "Last Communion of St. Jerome," completed this remarkable trio. It is thanks to the genius and high tone of these three that their school turned from a decadent imitation of formula and affectation to a dignity and inspiration that was then on the verge of disappearing, and that but for them would probably have been lost for ever. A severe study of anatomy; a feeling for all that was high and noble—due largely to Correggio and to the best of the Venetian masters—was the base on which these artists founded their ideals, and that enabled them, even while pandering to the theatrical taste, the exaggerated dramatic expression and the ample play of limbs and drapery of the time, to boast a freedom and individuality all their own, and to

create an intensely happy current of new and sane ideas.

Their school produced a number of artists nearly all of note, and all of varied temperaments, among whom were: Il Guercino, a painter of rare activity and vivid impressions, whose first manner was much given to violent contrasts of light and shade even in bloodless bodies, while his second manner was a concession to more harmonious and rosier flesh-tints, which, without discarding sharp contrasts, enabled him to do better work; whereas his third manner was again less attractive, and tended to overdo the delicate tints and yellow tones which he caught from Guido Reni, without, however, maintaining that master's purity of colour; Domenichino (Domenico Zampieri), of marked delicacy in the grace and charm of his women and children, but whose big compositions, such as the "Madonna del Rosario," and the "Martyrdom of St. Agnes" in this gallery, are loosely and badly put together, was still a painter possessed of much that is striking in detail and in detached groups.

In the forefront of the ranks under consideration Guido Reni stands pre-eminent. The radiance and sweetness that characterised his paintings are striking, even if at times they are not wholly free from the religious languors, the ecstasies, the spasms that belonged so particularly to the age in which he lived and worked. The two portraits in this gallery of his mother and his nurse are extremely fine, the former possessed of remarkable force and individuality, the latter very true to life and probably executed when, for a short while, he felt the influence of Rubens. His chief pupils were Cagnacci, "crude in colour, but dramatic"; Fran-

cesco Albani, "delicate and refined in composition, narrow as to subjects, now crude, now measured, but vigorous in an almost Venetian handling of mythical subjects"; Tiarini, "prolific but hasty," though at times powerful, as in "The Deposition"; his rival Lionello Spada, known as "Caravaggio's monkey" from the way in which he imitated that master's startling effects of light and shade while retaining a fine sense of colour; Cavedoni, also possessed of a rich colouring, and whose grand "Madonna di S. Alo" drew its inspiration from Paolo Veronese.

To these names may be added those of another group of Bolognese painters who have somewhat lightly been classed as *barocco*, and who boast such names as Cittadini, a superb portrait painter; Mastelletta, delicate, restrained, almost idyllic, who, Guido Reni declared, was more a born artist than himself; Lucio Massari; Carlo Cignani, President or Director of the Accademia Clementina, one of the most academic and one of the best painters of the Bolognese School, and whose warm fresh tints give life and grace to the *putti* he painted so fondly; Marc' Antonio Franceschini, a consummate decorator and designer, whose work is chiefly to be seen and appreciated in the Palazzo Bacciocchi and the Church of the "Santa" (Corpus Domini); Gessi; Michele Desubleo; Andrea and Elisabetta Sirani, the latter exalted out of due proportion by her admirers, who spoke of her as "the gem of Italy," the "sun of Europe," whose romantic end (she died, it was supposed, from poisoning at the age of twenty-six) procured for her more fame than did her art.

In this way we come to the "Settecentisti": Crespi, whose artistic personality penetrated even

to Venice, and may be said to have formed Piazzetta; Bigari, a past-master in all that related to perspective; Creti and the three Gandolfis—these are all now to be seen in a series of new rooms in the gallery where their joyousness, their technique, their play of fancy, can be seen to the greatest advantage.

A select, even if rather small, collection of other schools is also to be found in the Pinacoteca of Bologna. The Venetians are represented by the Vivarini, Cima da Conegliano, Pelosio, Tintoretto, Bonifacio, Paolo Veronese, the younger Palma, Campagnola, Padovanino, Jacopo da Ponte (Bassano), Muziano, Liberi, Sebastiano Ricci, Piazzetta. Among the Tuscans is Bugiardini; among the Romans, Giulio Romano; among the Ferrarese of the sixteenth century, L'Ortolano, Il Garofalo, Bonone, Coltellini, Mazzolino, Scarsellino; while there are besides some good pictures by Baroccio, Da Cotignola, Calza, Luca Cambiaso, Giulio Campi, Strozzi and his pupil Cassana, Feti, Luca Giordano, Mattia Preti, surnamed "Calabrese," Il Ribera (Spagnoletto), Schedoni, Solimena, Lana, Lanfranco, Luca Longhi, Martorelli, Bernardino dei Conti, Parmigianino—whose masterpiece of St. Margaret kneeling before the Infant Christ hangs in Room C (116), a "painting suffused with poetry and vigorously drawn in tones of gold"—Pietro della Vecchia, Naldini, Vasari.

In another room are seen specimens of artists of foreign lands, among them being: Herri Bles, called "Civetta," Elisabeth Vigée le Brun, Mengs, Quentin Metsys, Miel, Rosa di Tivoli, Seghers, Snyders, Sublegras, Sustermans, Van der Goes.

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Though the chief rooms are not yet in regular

MYSTICAL MARRIAGE OF OUR LORD AND ST. MARGARET.
PARMIGIANINO (PINACOTECA)

order, the catalogue and numbers having still to be drawn up, a few hints as to the principal pictures in this gallery may be of use to the traveller and enable him to see the most important masterpieces with as little trouble and loss of time as possible. Having passed through the corridors of the "Primitivi" and "Trecentisti" already mentioned, we come to Room E, known as the "Sala del Francia," where that painter's chief works are to be found, and where some fine hangings on the walls and some striking frames set off the beauty of the pictures and are in keeping with the period to which they belong.

No. 78. The Madonna and Child enthroned between SS. Augustine (Bishop), Francis, John Baptist, Procolo, Sebastian, Sta. Monica, and the donor Bartolommeo Felicini, a signed work, dated 1494. According to Vasari this was the first painting that made Francia famous in Bologna and gained for him many commissions. "Although," according to Malaguzzi, "the composition, owing to the crowding of the figures into so small a space, is not happy from the perspective side, Francia here reveals his pious idealism, his magnificent technique, his loyal allegiance to Ferrarese art." The angel playing music at the Madonna's feet recalls the same subject so often met with in the Venetian School, especially in Bellini and Carpaccio.

No. 83 (on an easel). The dead Christ supported by two angels. Francia here reaches a high degree of delicacy, of depth, and of warm glowing colour.

No. 80. The Blessed Virgin and Child enthroned. St. Augustine in gorgeous episcopal robes, mitre, and pastoral; SS. George, John Baptist, Stephen holding on a book his stones of martyrdom. An angel at the foot of the throne holds a lily in his

hands joined with such grace that, as Malvasia declares, "he belongs in very truth to Paradise." In this painting the Bolognese School of that day reached its highest period of activity and excellence.

No. 59. The Annunciation, with SS. Jerome and John Baptist, two noble and inspired figures.

No. 81. One of Francia's most charming pictures, of the Adoration of the Holy Child, with the Blessed Virgin kneeling, two angels below her, and SS. Joseph, Augustine, Francis, the donor Monsignor Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio, and the poet Girolamo Pandolfi of Casio. Vasari praised unconditionally the design, the invention and the colouring, and adds that the portrait of Bentivoglio dressed as a pilgrim returning from the Holy Land was declared by all who knew him to be "a striking resemblance," [1] an assertion which enhances Francia's fame as a portrait painter. The picture, of the year 1499, shows us the artist "free from former restraints, untrammelled in his grouping, and giving depth to a spacious and pleasant background." [2] The little hand of the Babe raised as if in protest against the two goldfinches on the slender twigs near Him is very delightful.

Another enthroned Madonna and Child, No. 372, with SS. Paul, Francis, the Infant St. John, is also very beautiful and devotional.

No. 371 is an interesting "Annunciation" with a strong Peruginesque feeling. Above the Madonna is inset a curious medallion of clouds, in the centre of which is the Infant Christ holding a slender Cross and looking down on the group below. No. 373. A "Crucifixion," with the Blessed Virgin, St. Mary

[1] Malaguzzi, *op. cit.* p. 24.
[2] Malaguzzi, *op. cit.* p. 26.

VIRGIN AND SAINTS IN ADORATION. FRANCESCO FRANCIA (PINACOTECA)

Magdalene, St. Jerome and St. Francis, in fine deep colouring. All these are by Francia, but there are other pictures in the same room deserving of note. Pre-eminent among these is No. 65, one of Lorenzo Costa's masterpieces, showing S. Petronio, enthroned, holding his beloved city in his hands (the unfailing emblem by which this saint can always be recognised), with St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua on either side. "The three emaciated ascetic figures," says Malaguzzi, "standing out on a gold background are among the most vividly coloured paintings of this Ferrarese artist, whose art, of a severe nature, left its mark in the city where his work and influence alike were great." [1]

Ferrara is again represented in No. 61 by a striking tempera painting of Francesco Cossa, of the Blessed Virgin and Child between S. Petronio and St. John the Evangelist, executed in 1474 by order of Alberto de' Cattanei and Antonio degli Amorini. The portrait of Cattanei shows him as a judge in toga and red "berretta" interceding at the Virgin's right hand, while S. Petronio's fine old face with the mitre on his head is full of majesty and expression. "It is the finest and most plastic work of this grand painter, who was so rough an innovator and so indifferent to charm."

No. 204, the Praying Magdalene, by Timoteo Vite, was painted in 1598, and is thus described by A. Venturi: "The gentle creature who appears at the entrance of a grotto, like a pious shepherdess, has been fashioned by Timoteo with youthful freshness. Her fair hair covers her down to her feet, those feet which certainly were not used either to stones or rock. Her head is gently bowed, as we

[1] Malaguzzi, *op. cit.* p. 20.

see in Francia's 'Madonnine,' and she joins the tips of her fingers as the master was wont to do with those he represented in prayer."

Close by in a corner is a fine terra-cotta statue, of the school of Niccolò dall' Arca, of St. Apollonia with the traditional forceps holding a tooth.

No. 297. A fine even if much-restored painting by Amico Aspertini of the Adoration of the Holy Child, with SS. John Baptist, Jerome, Francis, Eustace, George, Sebastian, and two devotees. Another good example of the same master, No. 9, is the Adoration of the Magi.

The next room, Sala D, contains Raphael's great picture of St. Cecilia. Though much restored and repainted, there is no questioning the master-hand in this work, which was carried off by Napoleon to Paris, where to save it from the ravages of insects it was removed from its original background of wood and transferred on to canvas in 1796. The picture, which came from the Church of S. Giovanni in Monte, was given back to Bologna in 1816. The subject shows St. Cecilia letting fall her organ and, oblivious of the musical instruments of earth, listening in ecstasy to the choirs of Heaven. Beside her stand St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist, St. Augustine, and St. Mary Magdalene. "The expression and the majesty of the figures, the originality of their grouping, the powerful and vigorous modelling, in such marked contrast to the serenity of the faces and attitudes, all explain the tremendous impression produced on the rather sleepy artistic world of Bologna by this masterpiece." [1]

This room also contains four striking paintings by Innocenzo Francucci da Imola (1494–1550): The Madonna and Child above in glory, and below

[1] Malaguzzi, *op. cit.* p. 110.

St. Michael "triumphing gloriously" over the Dragon, with St. Peter and St. Benedict on either side; the picture, which testifies to Raphael's influence, especially in the figure of the Archangel, came from S. Michele in Bosco. No. 90, the Virgin and Child, the Infant St. John, St. Elizabeth, and two portraits of members of the Felicini family; No. 292, Holy Family; No. 216, the Madonna surrounded with angels and gathering under her wide and flowing mantle a number of the faithful.

No. 133, Sacred Family with SS. Paul, Benedict and Mary Magdalen, from the Church of the Magdalen in Via Galliera, is by Bartolommeo Ramenghi, known as Bagnacavallo (1484–1542). A work of much refinement, and showing far more of the influence exercised over him by his second master Raphael than of that of Francia under whom he first studied.

Nos. 108, 278 and 288 are all fine and interesting pictures by Girolamo Marchesi da Cotignola (d. 1612).

In this same room and opposite the St. Cecilia hangs Perugino's splendid picture of the Virgin and Child in glory, adored by St. Michael, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Apollonia and St. John the Evangelist. This beautiful work, executed in 1496, came from the sacristy of S. Giovanni in Monte, and is one of the finest paintings of the great Umbrian master; it combines in itself the most marked and pleasing characteristics of Perugino's riper works, not only in its warm colouring but in its bold transparency and the perfect delineation of a wide and breezy perspective.

No. 26 is by Giuliano Bugiardini (1475–1554), of the Mystical Marriage of our Lord and St. Catherine, with St. Anthony of Padua on one side and the

Infant St. John at the foot of the throne. This picture, signed by the Florentine artist, though crude in colour is yet correct in form, and the figures stand out in strong relief.

Sala C, "del Tiarini." Here are works by Lorenzo Sabbatini (No. 146), "Assumption of the Virgin" with a tumultuous display of foreshortened limbs and figures; a fine treatment of the same subject (No. 759) by the Fleming Dionisius Calvaert (1553–1619); another striking one by him of "Vigilance" (No. 574) with an alert and wakeful cock in the right-hand corner; a "Flagellation" also by him (No. 39).

No. 116 is a beautiful painting by Francesco Mazzola, known as Il Parmigianino (1504–1540), of St. Margaret kneeling before the Babe seated on His Mother's knee, with St. Augustine, St. Jerome and an angel grouped around. "This refined, delicate painter, to whom so many Bolognese masters looked as to an unattainable model, gives us here a masterpiece suffused with a sense of poetry and vigorous draughtsmanship blended in tones of gold."[1]

Alessandro Tiarini (1577–1668), from whom the room takes its name and who was one of the most gifted artists of the Carracci School, has several pictures here: St. George (No. 190), St. Lawrence (No. 189), and a beautiful "Deposition" (No. 182), in which the beauty of form of the dead Christ, the grief and anguish of the Virgin as she supports the outstretched body of her Son on her knees, have called forth the admiration of critics in all ages, and gained for this picture a high place in the world of sacred art. Here too are works by Pellegrino Tibaldi (1527–1592), one of the precursors of the Carracci School, Nos. 575, 576, and 194, the

[1] Malaguzzi, *op. cit.* p. 98.

Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine, considered his masterpiece. Several by Passerotti, Nos. 123 and 577, this latter a fine St. Francis; the Prodigal Son, No. 112, by Lucio Massari (1569–1633), "in which," says Malaguzzi, "the feeling expressed in the attitude of the father bending over his penitent kneeling son, the vigorous modelling of the figures, the high tones of light, suggestive of Guercino, displayed in this picture have won for it much admiration, in spite of a certain crudeness of colour in the old man's dress." [1] By Massari too is No. 113, the Miracle of Sta. Chiara.

Here too is a good Coronation of the Virgin by Orazio Samacchini (1532–1577), with a whole host of saints in attendance. "This," says Malaguzzi, "is among the paintings of him who, together with Procaccini, Passarotti, and Sabbatini, belonged to that group of the Bolognese *cangiantisti* who looked to Correggio and Raphael as their leaders, and in it we have his most correct and representative work." [2]

Sala B, "dei Carracci," and containing the finest and most important works of these three Bolognese masters. Leading off with Lodovico Carracci (1555–1619), Nos. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47 and 48, the first, the "Madonna dei Bargellini," shows Our Lady enthroned with the Babe crowned by angels and adored by SS. Dominic, Francis, Mary Magdalene and Chiara, all of them being portraits of members of the Bargellini family. A luminous background showing the tower of the Asinelli is striking, and the declamatory attitude of St. Dominic is in keeping with the taste of the period, and is repeated almost exactly by Domenichino in his "Madonna del Rosario." No. 43, "Our Lord's Transfiguration,"

[1] Malaguzzi, *op. cit.* p. 54. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 40

is among the artist's latest works, and displays more skill in dealing with movement and space than in devotional feeling. No. 44, "Calling of St. Matthew." No. 45, "Birth of St. John Baptist," a fine piece of work, even if the colours are a bit strong and glaring. No. 46, "St. John preaching in the Wilderness." No. 47, "Conversion of St. Paul," full of life and action. No. 48, "The Madonna degli Scalzi," with SS. Francis and Jerome, a very beautiful and attractive picture, brought from the church of the same name. Malaguzzi pronounces it "the most refined of Lodovico's paintings, exquisite as to sentiment, magnificent in the delicacy and grace of the technique, which recent restoration has brought well to light." [1]

Agostino Carracci (1557–1602) is seen in Nos. 34 and 35. The first is the famous "Last Communion of St. Jerome," a signed picture, brought from the Certosa, and one of the most characteristic of the Carracci School. It has been highly praised for its composition, and is considered the artist's masterpiece. No. 35, "The Assumption of the Virgin," is by him.

Among Annibale Carracci's works (1560–1609) stands out (No. 36) the Madonna and Child in glory, adored by SS. Lodovico, Alessio, Francis, Chiara, and Catherine of Alexandria. "The work of a refined nature, having much of Correggio's manner, the master from whom all three Carracci took so much, and whom they preferred above all others." [2] No. 37, an enthroned Madonna and Child with St. Catherine and St. John Evangelist. No. 38, "The Assumption"; Nos. 39 and 40. Speaking of "The Annunciation" and

[1] Malaguzzi, *op. cit.* p. 44.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 52.

"The Assumption" Malaguzzi calls them "wonders of softness and grace." Annibale is looked upon as the greatest of his family, though the judgment of to-day would promote his cousin Lodovico over his head, while Agostino, Annibale's brother, would remain on the lowest rung of the ladder.

Other remarkable pictures in this sala are several by Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, known as Il Guercino (1591–1666). This artist's peculiarity, especially in his first manner, and influenced by Caravaggio, was to shed over his figures an almost unnatural luminous light. This is carried to an unwonted degree in his "St. Bruno adoring the Madonna and Child," where he also reaches a very high and pure artistic feeling. No. 12, also by him, shows St. William, Duke of Aquitaine, receiving the religious tunic of the Order of St. Felix. Above is the Virgin in glory with the Child, St. Joseph and St. James. "This grand painting of the year 1620, when placed beside Lodovico Carracci's St. George, . . . was declared by Calvi to be superior to it, both from the vigour of the colouring and in general effect; and possesses a force of modelling and of execution that has never since been surpassed by the Bolognese School." [1]

Here, too, are some fine works by Domenico Zampieri, known as Il Domenichino (1581–1641): "The Martyrdom of St. Agnes" (No. 206), a fine, almost Venetian colouring; No. 207, "The Madonna del Rosario," with the Holy Child throwing roses in glory, with angels around and St. Dominic; below a group of devout suppliants. There is much that is pleasing and to be admired in this picture, even if it does not come up to the exaggerated praises bestowed on it by Passeri

[1] Malaguzzi, *op. cit.* p. 80.

and Poussin. Also No. 208, "Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr."

No. 53 is a fine S. Rocco in tempera by Lodovico Carracci.

On an easel is the recently acquired picture of the Gozzadini family by Lavinia Fontana. The figures, especially of the women, are heavy and lifeless, but the dresses, of extreme beauty and interest, give a special value as to the costumes of the time and the taste of the wearers.

The last of the large rooms, Sala A, has many of Guido Reni's (1575–1642) finest works, among which stand out: No. 134, "La Pietà," where in the upper part is the stricken Virgin, her gaze cast up almost reproachfully to Heaven, while below her lies the body of the Saviour, stiff and rigid in death, with winged angels on either side. In the lower half of the picture are the patron saints of Bologna: Petronio, Dominic, Carlo Borromeo, Francis of Assisi, and Procolo; below them again, as though to make up for the stately, sad figures above, are four delicious *putti*, full of life and games and grace, while immediately behind them lies an enclosed plan of "the city of towers," like a big toy to be used by these merry, romping cherubs. A modern art critic, speaking of this picture, says: "We cannot sufficiently admire the sovereign majesty of style, the firmness of line, the magic play of light and shade and of colour. These superb figures, ethereal and real at the same time, are such powerful pieces of bold technique that no artist's eye can dwell on them unmoved." [1] No. 135, "The Slaughter of the Innocents." The horror and despair of the mothers; the poor little bodies, so still, so dead; the ruthless frenzy of the murderers,

[1] Cantalamessa.

are all placed before us in a vivid, luminous light that shows how well Guido knew how to handle a great dramatic effect whenever he chose to do so. No. 136 is a very beautiful "Crucifixion" with St. John and the Magdalene on each side of the Cross. No. 137, "Samson with the jaw-bone of an Ass," is full of life and expression. No. 138 gives the Madonna and Child in glory, surrounded with graceful and lovely cherubs, while below SS. Francesco Saverio, Procolo, Florian and other patron saints of Bologna invoke their help for the city, stricken by the plague. At the foot of the picture the town can be seen, darkened by clouds and sorrow, with stretcher-bearers carrying the dead and dying. This picture painted on silk was borne through the town as a standard while the plague lasted, and to its merit as a painting could also be added its properties for healing the sick and heartening up the citizens. No. 139, a noble and inspired figure of the Blessed Bishop Andrea Corsini. No. 140, St. Sebastian. No. 141, the Virgin crowned by the Trinity, with SS. John Baptist, John Evangelist, Bernard and Catherine. No. 142, the Head of our Lord with the crown of thorns, a pastel drawing full of grace which has called forth much praise and admiration both in the past and present.

A more vigorous example of Guido's work is to be found in the remarkable portrait of his mother (No. 779), showing him in the light of a powerful portrait painter, and displaying a bold use of the brush that is quite original; the picture was bought by the Pinacoteca from the Malvezzi family, in whose possession it had been for generations. Very fine too is the portrait of his nurse (No. 734), which shows the same bold treatment in line and

brush, and which, as has been stated, was probably painted when at Rome he came for a while under the influence of Rubens.

Of Francesco Albani (1578–1660) there is an enthroned Madonna and Child (No. 1) with SS. Catherine and Mary Magdalene, and (No. 3) a Madonna and Child in glory with SS. John Baptist, Francis of Assisi and Matthew, that for execution and composition is the best of this artist's sacred works. No. 2 is also by him, "The Baptism of Christ."

No. 30 is a most interesting portrait of Guido Reni by his pupil Simone Cantarini of Pesaro, by whom is also "The Assumption of the Virgin" (No. 29) with SS. Nicolò da' Tolentino, John the Evangelist, and Eufemia.

Other pictures worthy of note are: No. 57, "St. Francis of Assisi in ecstasy," by Giovanni Francesco Gessi (1588–1649), "a lovely and delicate composition proving the excellence of a school that could inspire even artists of a second order with so much artistic dignity"[1] Two fine works, Nos. 70 and 291, are by the Flemish master, Michele Desubleo (*op.* 1640–52); the first, "Christ appearing to St. Augustine and other Devotees"; the second, "St. John in the Desert." No. 502 is a gentle and attractive "Madonna and Child" of an earlier date and style by Marco Palmezzano (1456–1537), in the first and best manner of this pupil of Melozzo da Forlì.

Beyond this sala is a smaller room, the "Sala dei Ritratti," containing portraits, most of them of value and interest, of the "Seicentisti" and "Settecentisti" of the Bolognese School; and beyond that again is the "Sala dei Settecentisti,"

[1] Malaguzzi, *op. cit.* p. 76.

with a most lovely painting by Giuseppe M. Crespi (1655–1747), known as Lo Spagnolo, of "The Graces watching over sleeping Cupids." No. 547 is one of the many works of this most interesting artist that the gallery possesses, and reveals the grace and delicacy with which he handled profane subjects.

Another artist to be admired is Vittorio Bigari (1692–1776) in "Belshazzar's Feast," the finest of his works and a striking example of his powerful treatment of perspective. No. 467, also by him, is a fine interior of a church.

On the floor above are some rooms set apart for the works of the Gandolfi family, Ubaldo (1728?–1781) and Gaetano Gandolfi (1734–1802); for the most part heads of children full of grace and of eighteenth-century charm.

The above may serve to some extent to give an idea of the fine paintings contained in this gallery, but as has already been said, it lays no claim to be a complete treatise on the Pinacoteca of Bologna, and only aims at making the way easier to the traveller, or, better still, at persuading him to go for himself and study on the spot a collection that is second to none in interest and beauty among the picture galleries of Italy.

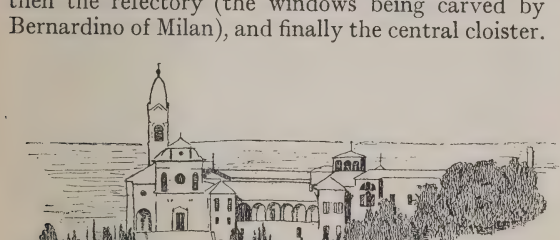
CHAPTER XII

Environs—S. Michele in Bosco—Madonna di S. Luca—The Certosa

THE places of interest outside Bologna are not all easy of access to the traveller who has but a few days to dispose of, but there are all the same two or three that should not be omitted and that are open to everyone. The first of these is S. Michele in Bosco, which stands on a height on the southern side overlooking the town, easily and comfortably reached by Tramway No. 14 that starts from the big Square.

The desire to make everything of interest date from the time of the Romans is maintained in the case of S. Michele, for one legend asserts that it was a hermitage in 368, in the days of the Emperors Valentinian and Valens; that it was devastated by the Goths in their incursions in the fifth century; that it was rebuilt in 450; and again overthrown by the Hungarians in 906. Nothing authentic, however, can be proved earlier than 1100, when it was used as a home for pious and penitent recluses. In 1348 the plague wrought havoc in Italy, and carried off nearly all the monks and friars living at S. Michele, and the frightened survivors came down from their stricken heights to seek safety and company in the city. Later on Giovanni d'Oleggio used the place for a while as a fortress, but in 1364 it was given back for religious purposes to the Olivetan Fathers by Cardinal Androvino

della Rocca. Nothing remains of the building of that period, which was levelled to the ground when the city was besieged in 1430. Seven years later Pope Eugenius IV. laid the first stone of a new church, and in 1454 the monastery was added at the public expense. The greater part of the building did not, however, come into being till 1514, when the library was added; then the campanile in 1520; then the refectory (the windows being carved by Bernardino of Milan), and finally the central cloister.



S. MICHELE IN BOSCO

The suppression of monasteries in 1797 swept away the Order here established of the "Olivetani," and in 1804 the building was transformed into a prison, when it was injured and defaced in every conceivable way. Better days dawned in 1843, and Cardinal Spinola obtained possession of the spot and carried out important works of restoration and embellishment, converting it into the Legate's habitation ("Villa Legatizia"). As such it remained till the visit of King Victor Emmanuel II., in 1860, when he lodged here and the name was changed to "Villa Reale." It is said that in the extensive woods around, once the forest of the Olivetan

monks, the King and Count Cavour consulted together and decided on the expedition of the "Mille" to Sicily.

In 1887–93 the monastery underwent its final transformation, when it was converted (all except that part which ranks as a "National Monument") into an Orthopædic Hospital—a great work that came about thanks to a splendid legacy bequeathed for the purpose by the surgeon Francesco Rizzoli. The façade of the church—very striking in its simple yet dignified lines—is the work of the architects Cristoforo de' Zani, Paolo Tibaldi, Giovanni Negro, and Gaspare Nadi, while over the principal door is a lovely marble frieze carved by Giacomo Andrea of Florence and Bernardino of Milan from designs by Baldassare Peruzzi of Siena, to whom is also ascribed the entire front (1521). The ornamentation of the small side door is said to be by Formigine, who was at work at S. Michele in 1525.

To the right of the door on entering the church is the tomb of Armaciotto de' Ramazzotti, the figures being by Alfonso Lombardi (1530), the decorative part by Bernardino of Milan. The holy-water stoups are to be admired (the one to the right being by the same Bernardino), and so are the two confessionals of inlay work by Fra Raffaello of Brescia (1664). The paintings in the church are of unequal merit, many are copies, and most of them have suffered at the hands of unskilled restorers. The organ and gallery over the door are examples of Formigine's art in gilded wood. The frescoed walls and dome in the second chapel are by Tiarini, also the "Santa Francesca Romana" in the third chapel. Here also is an antique Crucifix encircled in a "formiginesco" frame. To the left

of the door is "Christ borne at night to the Tomb" (an hour not usually selected for our Lord's burial), by Domenico M. Canuti (1687).

The medallions and the cherubs upholding them over the four doors are gracefully conceived and executed by Carlo Cignani. The paintings and frescoes on either side of the steps are by Colonna and Mitelli, while beside the High Altar we see "The Archangel Michael driving out the Demons," by Canuti. On the altar itself is a very beautiful shrine of "pietra-dura," by Giovanni da Piacenza (1619); on the walls a copy by Gnudi of Innocenzo da Imola's "Michael overcoming the Dragon" (the original is in the Pinacoteca); and on either side are two large pictures by Giovanni Viana, one of them being "The Miracle of St. Bernard," the founder of the Olivetan Order.

By a door on the left at the bottom of the nave we come to the sacristy, where are frescoes by Bagnacavallo, and some good paintings of saints, angels, and the evangelists by Pupini, Girolamo da Treviso, Girolamo da Carpi, and Girolamo da Cotignola. "St. Peter's Martyrdom" opposite the door is alternatively attributed to Tibaldi and Prospero Fontana. In a small chapel with frescoes by Fra Paolo Novello is a copy of Guido's "Magdalene" by Canuti, who is buried here. Opposite the door on the west side is a clever perspective drawing of a staircase by Mengazzino, who did besides much decorative work in the church.

In what is known as the "Night Choir" (*Coro Notturno*), or the "New Sacristy," are some good and interesting frescoes by Innocenzo da Imola of scenes from the life of the Blessed Virgin, the Archangel Michael, the Resurrection, bearing his mark and the date 1517.

The hall close by measures over 162 metres in length, and from the balcony is a glorious panorama, with the town of Bologna below, and the vast plain beyond stretching away to the Euganean Hills and the Alps above Verona.

A door to the right leads into the "Cloister of the Carracci," where Lodovico Carracci and his best pupils depicted a series of St. Benedict's story together with that of St. Cecilia and S. Valeriano in thirty-seven compartments, of which unfortunately but little remains. In the pavement are two old stone effigies, one of them to the jurist Egidio da Budrio.

In an adjoining courtyard part of an old quadrangular cloister is visible with a small side door which formerly led into the church, where traces of frescoes by Onofrio da Fabriano (1463) can be discerned. A staircase leads from here into the refectory, a noble hall with paintings of the principal Olivetan monasteries of that Order throughout Italy, encircled by ornate arabesques and divers representations of scenes from the Apocalypse, the work of Cristoforo Garbieri, Battista Campi, and Stefano Veltroni, all disciples of Giorgio Vasari, who directed and helped them in their works, and who himself painted the picture of "Christ in the House of Bethany."

On another height, and not far distant from S. Michele in Bosco, is the Palazzo Aldini, a fine Ionic building commanding a grand view of the country around. It was erected in 1811–16 by Count Antonio Aldini on this height, which was known as the Madonna del Monte. Here in 1116 the "noble lady Pecciola Gallazzi" determined to found an oratory, where in strict seclusion she could mourn the loss of her husband, Ottaviano Piatese, who had died after

one brief year of happy married life. The little oratory underwent many changes after Donna Pecciola's death. In 1444 Cardinal Bessarion enlarged it considerably, and employed one Galasso of Ferrara to paint and decorate it. After Count Aldini's ownership it was bought by a man possessed of much wealth but devoid of taste or understanding. He spoilt the place so completely that in 1832 the municipality took it over and caused it to be entirely renovated ten years later by Antonio Serra.

A military road branches off on the right from S. Michele in Bosco and leads to Ronzano, where in 1140 a hermitage was set up by Cremonina Piatesi, that passed in the following century to the "Soldiers of the Blessed Virgin," an order instituted, as has been said, by Loderingo degli Andolò, and stigmatised by Dante as the "Frati Gaudenti." They possessed the site till 1475, when it was bought by the Dominicans, who five years later built the church which exists to this day, and contains several frescoes said to belong to the school of Francia. In the last century it was bought by Count Giovanni Gozzadini, and through his daughter it passed to its present owners, the Counts of Schio.

The tramway leads on from here to Monte Paderno, formerly one of the forts set up for the defence of Bologna, but now abandoned. The river Aposa rises near by, and the spot is considered a suitable one for an expedition, possessing as it does glorious views on all sides, and two inns famous for the excellent dishes of "tagliatelle" (a kind of "spaghetti") that are to be had here.

There are other places of more or less interest dotted about on the neighbouring heights, such as the Church of S. Vittore, of fine architectural

merits, where Bishop Enrico della Fratta was buried in 1202; Mezzaratta, where Donna Laura Minghetti owned a princely villa adjoining the little Church of St. Apollonia, a church of the twelfth century adorned with frescoes by Bolognese masters, notably the brothers Jacopo and Simone da Bologna; the Villa, now Casalini, formerly Baruzzi, from its builder Cincinnato Baruzzi, one of Canova's pupils; the "Osservanza" or Church of S. Paolo in Monte, with an adjoining monastery of the "Padri Minori

MADONNA DI S. LUCA

Riformati dell' Osservanza" that was reconstructed early in the nineteenth century from designs by Vincenzo Vannini. There are paintings by different Bolognese masters, such as Passerotti, Cavedoni, Angelo Michele Colonna, Franceschini, Elisabetta Sirani, and others.

Outside the Porta Saragozza (Tramway No. 5) stands the famous Sanctuary of the Madonna di S. Luca, a landmark to greet the traveller from whichever side he approaches Bologna, that sets a seal of majesty and distinction to the range of the Apennines stretching away from it on all sides. The way up to the top is either by a rough stony road, possible also for a carriage or motor, or on foot by

a long steep stone arcade formed of 666 arches, with fifteen small chapels at stated intervals in which are depicted (in bad preservation) the Mysteries of the Rosary, except in the first, where is an "Annunciation" by Franceschini. This long and arduous ascent—the work of different Bolognese architects—was constructed between 1674 and 1739. It was restored and amplified between 1880 and 1895, every citizen of Bologna, whether of high or low degree, contributing willingly to the cost of erection, which came to 170,300 Roman *scudi*. The church is situate some 289 metres above the sea-level, and the ascent is over a mile and a half in length.

The dedication of this sanctuary to St. Luke came about in this way: an old legend had laid down that a portrait of the Blessed Virgin painted by the "Beloved Physician" was one day to have a resting place in the mount known as the "Monte della Guardia," from the fact that in the days of old a band of soldiers were quartered here to keep watch or guard for the defence of the city from the men of Modena. The portrait was known to be at Constantinople, but no one knew where the exact "Mountain of the Watch Tower" was. A hermit named Eutimio set himself to discover it, and after many pilgrimages and vicissitudes he lit upon the spot as being close to Bologna. Here after much toil and trouble he brought his treasure, borne laboriously on his back, placing it in a small church already dedicated to St. Luke, and close to a hermitage where a pious Bolognese maiden named Angela had retired from the world. This was in 1087, and when Angela died, in 1145, she had gathered round her other maidens who had embraced the religious life, among whom were two sisters, Azzolina and Beatrice Guazo, whose father

Rambertino di Guazo gave largely to the "Sisterhood of St. Luke," and left a special legacy for the burning of candles "ante imaginem Beatæ Mariæ miracules constantinopolitanæ."

The arrival of the miraculous picture caused no small stir among the inhabitants of Bologna; processions, the chanting of psalms, the carrying of lighted candles, and crowds of people were called in to assist in conveying the portrait up the hill, where it was confided to the care of one Suora Angelina and placed in the small church. In 1731 the present church was built, the architect being Carlo Francesco Dotti, whose designs for the façade, the side tribunes and the loggia were followed out in 1767, the money for these latter additions being provided by Pope Benedict XIV.

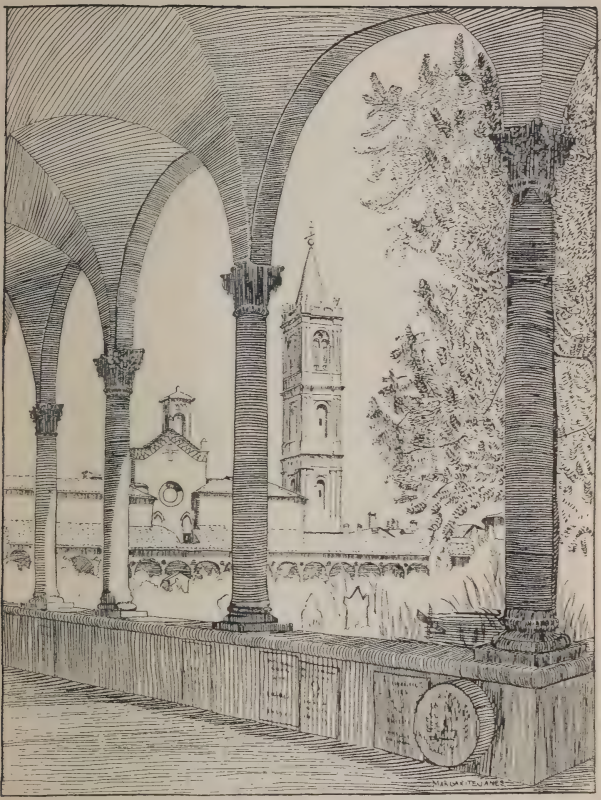
The time required for the erection of this stately and striking edifice was ninety years, the cost being about 2,000,000 *lire*, not including the sums expended on the marble, the silver and the paintings that adorn and enrich the sanctuary. The views from the top and all round are wonderfully beautiful, on one side embracing various ranges of the Apennines, on the other a wide sweeping stretch of the plain. Interest inside the church centres in the High Altar, which is a gorgeous piece of ornamentation, consisting of divers kinds of costly marbles, "pietra-dura," gilt bronze, some good decorative painting by Vittorio Bigari, and in the midst a fine "ancona" in which is kept the famous "Immagine," which is reached by two side stairs. All the statues in the church and in the seven chapels are by Angelo Piò, except those of the third chapel, which are by Gaetano Lollini. In the sacristy are two large paintings by Piastrini; one representing the hermit handing over the "Madonna di S.

Luca," the other the Venetian merchants who first stole the picture and then discover that it has disappeared from the case where they had placed it. The cupola is richly ornamented by Samoggia and Guardassoni, and a "St. Jerome praying" by Balzani.

The "Miraculous Madonna" has often been brought from her heights to take part in some function for the difficulties, whether of drought, or flood, or other trials, that beset the town, but the special ceremony in which she appears is that on the Saturday before Ascension Day. The picture is then removed from its place over the High Altar, and carried reverently down to the Cathedral, where it remains for three days, during which time crowds flock to do it honour from town and country. On the third day, the eve of Ascension Day, another long procession is formed that winds slowly through the great Square by the Paviglione into S. Petronio. After a short halt here the picture is brought out again into the piazza and the ceremony of Benediction—a ceremony first instituted in 1588 by Cardinal Gabriel Paleotti—takes place in front of S. Petronio. The scene is remarkable; the Square is packed with people, every balcony and window seat holds its mass of spectators, every head is bared when the Archbishop gives his blessing and the picture is held aloft. After a few minutes of prayer and silence the procession re-forms with the Archbishop surrounded by priests, Dominican and Franciscan friars, singers, players "playing on instruments of music," and he then passes slowly along the piazza, bestowing his blessing as he goes. The famous picture, surmounted with garlands of flowers, is the object of universal veneration as it is borne on high with

all the pomp of pageantry and sound befitting the occasion, and the ceremony only comes to an end when the Madonna is once more back in the Duomo, where she remains undisturbed till the afternoon of the following day. On Ascension Day itself the return journey is made, the route being by the Via Ugo Bassi through the Piazza Malpighi, where Benediction is again given, through the Porta Saragozza and the long line of arcades up to the mount.

Another object of both beauty and interest is the Certosa, outside the Porta Saragozza, which can be reached by Tramway No. 11, getting out at the "Arco Guido," or branching off from the Arcade of the Madonna di S. Luca at the point known as "Meloncello," where a monumental archway was erected by the citizens of Bologna in 1811, the architect being Ercole Gasperini. The Certosa is now the cemetery of the Commune, but as early as 1333 it was selected as a monastery for Carthusian monks, who dedicated the church to St. Jerome and enclosed the ground within walls in 1367. It remained in their hands till 1797, when the order was suppressed, and after some years of abandonment it was taken over by the Commune as the burial-place of Bologna. To enumerate all the numerous and different vaults, family tombs, *colombari* (shelved vaults), statues and monuments in this vast spot would simply be to make a list of the families of Bologna, high and low, and would prove of little interest to the English traveller; but at the same time the place is well worth a visit, while the plan of the ground, the artistic setting of the long rows of cloistered arches, and the memory of great names numbered here among "the holy dead," all combine to make the Certosa of Bologna an object of intense interest.



THE "CERTOSA"

The church itself retains much of the character originally bestowed upon it by the architect Galgano da Maggiano in 1334, with its fine decorations in terra-cotta and a strikingly beautiful campanile. Internally the primitive construction still exists, while paintings of a later date show many of the Carthusian saints, the works of Cesi, Canuti, Marco Veneziano, and others. In the first chapel on the right is a S. Bruno and other monks, by Cesi; "The Last Judgment," and "Our Lord's Ascension," by Galli Maria Bibiena. In the first chapel on the left is a "Communion of St. Jerome" (a copy from Agostino Carracci), by Clemente Alberi; "The Feast in the Pharisee's House," by Antonio Sirani; "Our Lord's Baptism in Jordan," by Elisabetta Sirani.

On the side walls beyond these two chapels are some very large pictures: "The Miraculous Draught of Fishes," by Gessi, a vigorous and expressive painting, as is also another by him of "The Cleansing of the Temple"; "Virgin and Child," ascribed to Cesi; a fresco of "Our Lord," by Lodovico Carracci. Another fine bit of work is a high relief representing the Carthusian, St. Hugh, and St. Jerome, a carving of the end of the fourteenth century, and that can certainly be assigned to the school of the Dalle Massegne. The two paintings, "Our Lord appearing to St. Mary Magdalene" and "Our Lord's triumphant ride into Jerusalem," are by Lorenzo Pasinelli. St. Peter and St. Paul on the pilasters are by Lorenzo Pranziani. There are some very good paintings by Cesi in the Great Chapel (*Capella Maggiore*); and here too the choir-stalls are of lovely inlay work by Biagio de' Marchi of Crema, done in 1539.

On the left-hand side of the church are three

chapels of considerable interest. In the first, near the choir, is a statue of the Abbot St. Anthony, ascribed to Alfonso Lombardi, and a picture of St. John Baptist by Anna Rossi. In the second, known as that "of the Reliquaries," are statues by Angelo Piò, the "Blessed Virgin," "St. Anthony of Padua"; and "St. Joseph," by Giuseppe Mazza; "Our Lord," and "St. Francis" by Mignani, the latter in a highly ornate frame of the sixteenth century; also a good painting of St. Francis, St. Louis of Toledo, S. Bernardino of Siena, and the portraits of the donors, of the second half of the fifteenth century. The last chapel contains a much touched-up fresco of S. Bernardino by Amico Aspertini; "St. Anthony of Padua," ascribed to Leonardo Ferrari; "The Last Supper" ascribed to Samacchini, and an "Annunciation" by Cesi. The bas-relief in plaster of the "Madonna and Child" is a reproduction from Donatello. The monument to Bevilacqua Vincenzi is by Stefano Galletti (1896).

The view from the "Great Cloister" (*Chiostro Maggiore*) is enchanting, comprising as it does a lovely line of pillars and arches which carry the eye on to yet further loggias and arcades up to the main mass of the building and to the beautiful fourteenth-century campanile beside it.

The history of Bologna can be studied anew in reading the names of the statesmen, artists, lawyers and nobles who lie there, and who helped to make Bologna what she is. That their memory is held sacred and glowing in the hearts of their descendants is proved by the fact that as each New Year's Day comes round the inhabitants of the town turn out at an early hour to lay flowers on the graves of their loved ones. The idea is that the first offering given

and the first visit paid in the new year should be to those who have gone before; and when one knows the severity of the winters in Bologna and the intense cold of the season it speaks volumes for the love that prompts the effort and the depth of devotion which takes so touching and graceful a form.

CHAPTER XIII

Plan for seeing the Town—Hotels—Modern Art in Bologna

FOR the traveller whose days in Bologna are limited to five or six, or even less, the following plan as to how best to see the town may be of use.

(1) Through the Via dell' Indipendenza into the Great Square—or "Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele" —where after admiring the Fountain of Neptune, the outside and courtyard of the "Palazzo del Re Enzo," to the Palazzo Pubblico (Chap. V).; the Church of S. Petronio (Chap. V.); under the arcade known as "Paviglione" to the "Archiginnasio" and the "Museo Civico" (Chap. VI.).

(2) A short visit may be paid to the Duomo, "S. Pietro" (Chap. VII.), on the way to S. Martino (Chap. VII.), from there down the Via Marsala to the Church of S. Giacomo Maggiore, and immediately beyond it to the little Oratory of Sta. Cecilia. Between the Via Mazzini and the Via Guerrazzi, the Church of Sta. Maria dei Servi (Chap. VII.).

(3) Down the Via Rizzoli, passing near the Two Towers, and the Mercanzia (Chap. VII.), keeping to the right along the Via S. Stefano to the piazza and church of that name; and from there to the Church of S. Giovanni in Monte. Fine palaces in the Via S. Stefano.

(4) Through the Piazza and the Via Castiglione, where the fine old Palazzo Pepoli stands (Chap. IX.), to the Piazza and Church of S. Domenico (tombs of Rolandino Passaggeri and Egidio Foscherari in the piazza); S. Procolo; Palazzo Bevilacqua; Church of Corpus Domini, or "La Santa" (Chap. IX.).

(5) Along the Via Ugo Bassi into the Piazza Malpighi to the tombs of the "Glossatori" and the Church of S. Francesco; beyond that, in the Via Barbaziana, to the Church of S. Salvatore; S. Paolo, in the Via Carbonesi; façade of Spirito Santo; Spanish College (Chap. X.).

(6) Pinacoteca—reached either by the Via Marsala or the Via Zamboni (Chap. XI.).

(7) Outside the town: S. Michele in Bosco (Tramway 14); Madonna di S. Luca (Tramway 5 to Porta Saragozza); the Certosa, or "Campo Santo" (Chap. XII.).

The chief, best and most expensive hotels are: Hotel Brun, No. 32, Via Ugo Bassi (in this hotel there is also a small English church, whenever a chaplain can be had for the services); Hotel Baglioni, No. 6, Via Indipendenza; Pellegrino, No. 7, Via Ugo Bassi. A very good hotel that combines old-fashioned kindliness with modern comfort and good cooking is Hotel Savoia, No. 26, Via Indipendenza. Others of a good even if second-class order are: the Bologna, the Milano, both in Viale P. Pietramellara; the Due Torri, No. 5, Via Mazzini; the Roma, Via d'Aseglio; the Du Parc, No. 65, Via Indipendenza; Stella d'Italia, and Tre Re, both in Via Rizzoli. The chief post and telegraph office is No. 4, Piazza Minghetti. The principal theatres are:

the Comunale, in Via Zamboni; the Duse, in Via Cartoleria; Corso, Via S. Stefano; Verdi, Via Indipendenza; and in the same street Arena del Sole and Eden Teatro.

The chief public garden is Giardino Margherita beyond the Porta di S. Stefano.

The shops of Bologna are of a high order, the chemists' shops are especially so, and situated in all the principal streets.

The art of to-day in Bologna is of a very high and beautiful order. The traveller will be struck by the blending of Old and New, of Past and Present, which is more marked in Bologna than in most of the other towns of Italy, and which here at least does away with the terror generally connected with the words "modern art" in the land where Art found a natural and abiding home. The special forms of Art which will probably appeal most to visitors will be those relating to embroidery, leather-work and ceramics. The first, that of embroidery, has a most attractive shop at No. 21, Via Ugo Bassi, where Signorina Fanny Gregori (who speaks English perfectly) is glad to show the beauties of every variety of "drawn-thread" and linen work that the School of Embroidery, known as "Æmilia Ars," executes most beautifully and skilfully, and that too at moderate prices.

Leather work, for large or small goods alike, is to be found close to the Collegio di Spagna, and testifies to the good taste and originality of design in this kind of art to-day in Bologna.

We have seen for ourselves the fine and clever specimens of ceramic art executed by the brothers Minghetti in some of the chapels in the Church of S. Francesco. Many examples of the same manufactory are to be seen in their shop under the

arcades of the Paviglione, and a visit to the chief workshop outside the Porta S. Stefano will be much appreciated and will be repaid by the sight of lovely examples of an art made famous by the Della Robbia family, and which seems inherent in the Italian artist and craftsman down to present times.

Those who have ever made acquaintance with the refreshing and delightful "Acqua di Felsina," an aromatic water for bath or mouth-wash, may like to be reminded that the "Felsina" of old, the Bologna of to-day, is the place where this water is most easily obtainable, and where its quality is excellent.

Food and cooking are better, and generally cheaper, in Bologna than in any other town in Italy. The many forms of "maccaroni," under their different names of *tagliatelle, caneloni, tortolini*, and several more, are here to be found at their best, other special dishes are readily forthcoming, and in all matters of food at least Bologna in no way belies her sonorous title of "La Grassa."

1. Stazione della Ferrovia.
2. Castello di Galliera.
3. Porta Galliera.
4. † Sacro Cuore di Gesù.
5. † S. Benedetto.
6. Montagnola.
7. Orto Botanico.
8. † S. Maria della Purificaz.
9. Monum. a Gius. Garibaldi.
10. Arena del Sole.
11. † S. Bartolomeo di Reno.
12. Ospedale Maggiore.
13. † Mad. del Ponte delle Lame.
14. Palazzo Bentivoglio.
15. Istituti Universitari.
16. Accademia di Belle Arti e R. Pinacoteca.
17. Casa Grassi.
18. † Santa Maria Maggiore.
19. † SS. Naborre e Felice.
20. † S. Nicolò.
21. † S. Giorgio.
22. Casa Bellei.
23. † S. Colombano.
24. Palazzo Mazzolini-Mandelli.
25. † S. Martino.
26. Università e Biblioteca.
27. Teatro Comunale.
28. Palazz. Malvezzi-Campeggi.
29. „ Salem.
30. „ Malvasia.
31. Torre dei Prendiparti.
32. Palazzo Benelli.
33. † Madonna di Galliera.
34. Palazzo Fava.
35. Hôtel Baglioni.
36. Mercato Nuovo.
37. Monumento a Ugo Bassi.
38. Palazzo dell'Arcivescovado.
39. Torre Azzoguidi.
40. Palazzo Malaguti.
41. „ Malvezzi-de'Medici.
42. † S. Giacomo.
43. Liceo Musicale.
44. Portico di S. Giacomo.
45. † Santa Cecilia.
46. Palazzo Marconi.
47. „ Cloetta.
48. † S. Vitale e Agricola.
49. Torresotto di S. Vitale.
50. † S. Bartolomeo.
51. Palazzo Davia-Bargellini.
52. Casa Stagni.
53. † Cattedrale di S. Pietro.
54. Hôtel Brun.
55. † Santa Maria delle Laudi.
56. † S. Francesco.
57. Sepolcri dei Glossatori.
58. Porta Nuova.
59. † S. Prospero.
60. Palazzo della Zecca.
61. Tempio Evangelico.
62. Fontana Vecchia.
63. Pallazo Comunale.
64. „ del Podestà.
65. „ dei Banchi.
66. † Santa Maria della Vita.
67. Loggia dei Mercanti.
68. Palazzo Malvasia.
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70. Palazzo Isolani.
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